726 the distance is regarded as an invitation to battle.[28] A narrative of a famous fight, recorded by Dr. Stanley Newman, has been contributed to this record. Lemondo, one of the leaders, was known to the Chunut informant, J.A.

Lemondo and Tabsa[29]

726 They knew that they would fight. The Yaud-
202 anchi sent a man, who said that they would
539 fight in a certain number of days. The [Southern] messenger (ho·ye·lis), sent by the Bankalachi, Koyeti, and Tinlinin, asked him how many [Northern] tribes were allied. He was told that there were three, the Chunut, Choinok, and Wükchamni, and that they would fight in seven days. On being questioned, the [Northern] messenger asserted that he was sure of this, for the leaders had decided upon the time. The [Southern] messenger then said that the Bankalachi, Koyeti, and Tinlinin were not ready yet, but that they would send their own messengers [to get an intertribal agreement upon the time?].

[After the Southern messenger had returned and] made inquiries, the [Bankalachi] leaders told him that it would take them five days to complete their preparations. The next morning they sent him to Tinliw, saying that he should return in five days, for at that time they wanted to know when the [Tinlinin] could come. The [Southern] messenger then went to Tinliw, where the people were numerous, and told their leader, Lemondo, that he had been sent. Lemondo ordered his workers (t'so·'ihni') to assemble the people. He asked the [Southern] messenger whether his news was good or bad and was told that it was bad. His messengers ran swiftly.

One of them went to the Tejon people. On approaching, he shouted and the people gathered immediately. Their leader told them that the news was probably bad, that they had better get their bows and prepare themselves. By the time the messenger [of Lemondo] arrived, they were ready. He told them that the leader [Lemondo] wanted the people to come to his house immediately; they were to listen to one who had come from far off. The people were advised by their messenger to get their bows and their necklace charms [talismans]. Some of them got grizzly-claw necklaces, others got falcon-head necklaces, and still others got eagle-head necklaces.

When they reached the leader's [Lemondo's] place, one of their leaders took them where many people were assembled. There the [Southern] messenger was asked for his news. He reported that the Bankalachi leader wanted the people, for a battle was to take place. On being asked what tribes were angry, he answered that they were Northerners--the Chunut, Choinok, and Wükchamni. At this some of the people asserted that the Northerners were a useless lot, that the Southerners would give them a

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[28] Gayton and Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths, 87, 88, abstract 11, note 1. Nevertheless, to approach a village or isolated house without calling out was ill-mannered and regarded with suspicion.

[29] Recorded in Yaudanchi dialect by Stanley S. Newman from Frank Manuel, Bankalachi.

726 202 539 good clubbing. In reply to further questions, the [Southern] messenger told them that his leader wanted the people in five days, for the [Northern] messenger would return in five days and again in seven days. Some of the warriors were very happy; they promised that the people would arrive at the proposed time.

The [Southern] messenger returned to his leader and reported that he had been successful in persuading the [Tinlinin] people to come in five days. [After five days] the people arrived at the leader's house. The warriors immediately began inquiring who their opponents were and when the fight was to take place. They were told that the Northerners were their opponents and that the seventh day had been chosen for the battle.

The Northern messenger also arrived on the fifth day. He reported that he did not have much news: his people would come to fight on the seventh day. The [Bankalachi] leader said that his people were ready and asked where the tribes would meet. He was told that the place was Chiteetiknawahsiw (tsiti·tiknawa·siw, literally "sliding-place, place where one makes oneself slide"; according to my informant, this place is situated near Deer Creek).

The day of their departure arrived. The [Southern] people went to Gayliw (gayliw, literally "waiting-place, meeting-place," identified as "Lookout Mountain" by my informant), from where they could see other people coming. They [411] then descended to the plains and fought there. They used only arrows and obsidian (tba·siþ), with which they pierced each other. Half of the Northerners were wiped out, and some of them ran away. Some of the Bankalachi were killed too. Some of those who had run away went far to the west and reported to the Tachi. A Chunut messenger told the Tachi that the Northerners had been wiped out by the Southerners.

The Tachi leader immediately sent his messenger to Tabsa. After receiving Tabsa's greetings, the [Tachi] messenger told him that, according to reports, the Wukchamni had been wiped out by the Southerners. Tabsa assured the messenger that he would leave with his people in two days. After the two days had elapsed, Tabsa went to the Tachi. He asked the Chunut messenger, who was still there, what had happened. The messenger told him that his people had fought and had been badly beaten. Tabsa then hurried him off to gather whatever Chunut warriors remained and to bring them back immediately. The messenger returned home and told the warriors that their allies were speeding preparations to fight the next day. The Chunut joined Tabsa, who again asked for information about their battle with the Southerners. They told him that half of their people had been killed. Tabsa decided that they had better fight the following day. The Chunut messenger offered to carry the news to their enemies, for he knew where they were. Tabsa told him to go immediately.

The [Chunut] messenger journeyed all night, and the next morning he reached the enemies' camp, where he was greeted. He told them that the Tachi had joined his people and asked if they knew of Tabsa; they replied that they did know of him. It was agreed that they would fight the next day in the plains. The messen-

726 ger then returned to the Tachi and informed
202 them of the arrangements that had been made for
539 the battle. Tabsa was pleased.

The next morning they left and met their enemies at the appointed place. They fought for a long time, shooting at each other and dodging. Some of them ran away. Tabsa and Xenilal grappled with one another for a long time. But Tabsa became exhausted, for Xenilal was a very large man. Finally Tabsa got away and spoke from a distance. Neither of them had any more arrows; they worked on each other with necklace charms.

728 At last Tabsa said that they had better
539 quit fighting, now that all of their comrades had run away. Xenilal agreed. In reply to Xenilal's question, Tabsa promised that he would never fight again. The Tachi had been severely beaten. Then Tabsa and Xenilal conferred; they were friends now. Tabsa told Xenilal that he thought they should not fight with each other but should live peacefully ('inestam, literally "in a good manner"). This leader seemed to be a remarkable man. He said that soon he would arrange to have the Northerners and Southerners assemble, so that they could see each other peacefully. This remarkable man was going to make a feast in seven days. He went on to say that Xenilal and his people need be afraid of nothing, that they should bring their comrades and wives. Xenilal asked when the feast would be held and was told that it would probably take place in seven days. The final greetings were exchanged, Tabsa repeated his hope that they fight no more but live in peace, and the two leaders departed for home.

The people had missed them; they thought that their leaders had killed each other. When Tabsa arrived among the Tachi, his comrades were still there. They expressed their surprise at seeing him, saying that they had thought he was dead. He assured them that he had not been killed, though Xenilal was a very powerful (ṭipni') man. He then asked the people to assemble at his home and added that it would be best for them not to fight again. The Tachi people agreed. On being questioned about the date of the feast, he said that he would start preparations immediately on his arrival home.

After he had returned to his home, Tabsa announced that the feast would take place in seven days. He warned the people not to "talk about anything" when the Southerners and the
[202] Chunut arrived. Then Tabsa sent his crier (wina·tum) south to carry the report to all the Tinlinin, Bankalachi, and Koyeti. The crier invited these people to the feast and assured them that there would be no more fighting.

574 The people went to the feast; all the
728 Tinlinin and Bankalachi came there. As soon
539 as they arrived, they were stopped and presented with bead (liina') money. This is Indian money. They feasted heavily, eating fish and many ducks and wild geese. At the end of the feast the Southerners were again given bead money. Then Tabsa spoke. He said that he did not think it good for them to fight; he thought it better that they should see each other peacefully, just as they were doing now. Then he told them all to return to their homes and to live peacefully.

796 had the ability. It is classified as a "dance" by its name "magic dance" (t:pni ha'tim) in Chunut. Poso'o and Sapagai (a Wowol ?) were the only two doctors known to J.A. who could do this.

In the early spring these men "were careful about what they ate"; they ate nothing made of a new seasonal crop, as, for example, young tule roots. About the middle of February they gave their performance at night by a fire. (These were individual affairs, however.) At least one singer served as accompanist (Jim Wilcox sang for Poso'o, who used a cocoon rattle). The doctor danced almost continuously all night, while the singer sang a series of songs about "birds and animals." Not all these 796 songs had words. Two of them which J.A. re-
539 calls are "soisoi maiyin" (see Wukchumni) and the following:

ma''an(a) gut hoi'yiuh:n
you that come back

pa'wus mai'y:n ye'ha ye·e·e·e·'ha
seeds are coming, coming

uya'yi uya'yi
[exclamation]

hot:nih:'nke wača'ma
[burning?] shaking hand feathers

hia'ma ṭa'iho'awa
now reddening

so'pas inana'he
[a plant with red berries]

wi'ya ṭa'ho'iwah:n
will be reddening

796 At some time during the night the magic display was made. Poso'o made seeds of food plants appear on the floor by the fire; if many seeds of a certain kind were manifest, it indicated that these would be plentiful.

Sapagai's exhibition was more elaborate. He danced about near the fire. When he kicked the ground, seeds appeared all over it. Then he would stamp on the ground, and the plants themselves were there, growing. Another demonstration made use of the ornamental bunch of feathers (son:l) carried by doctors in their hands and used in curing processes. Sapagai would hold his son:l over a large tray, and when he squeezed it downwards, seeds fell from it onto the tray. But the seeds were magical, not real, and melted away before the spectators' eyes.

During this display the people would query the shaman about the crops of wild seeds for the coming season. "Where were the seeds going to grow?" He would point in certain directions, or even reply that they would be prolific near a specific person's seed-gathering place.

756 The Snake Ritual M.G. knew of, saying that
535 the Wechihit had it but the Tachi, Choinuk,
Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol did not. She said
[825] Pusl꞉ ´l꞉n was an old man who could make that
dance as Snake was his totem animal, but no one
else, without this totem, could dance with
snakes. However, Kroeber states that the Tachi
had a ceremony which "approximated" the Yaud-
anchi rite which he describes.[103]

The Bear Dance M.G. claimed for the Tachi and Wechihit but denied to the Wolasi, Telamni, Choinuk, Chunut, and Wowol, and northerners (Hoshima). The Tachi had three Bear dancers; one woman danced it also. The performance was given in the middle of summer or at any other time for entertainment. Everybody paid a little to see it. M.G. knew of no purpose in its performance, perhaps it was performed by Bear doctors.

A beaver or fish dance (ɔ´šw꞉š), a shamanistic display of the foothill people, was unknown to M.G., although Kroeber attributes it to the Tachi.[104]

535 M.G. likewise disclaimed any dance which was done exclusively by women.

The pleasure dance (hata´m꞉č or wa´tiyɔd) was done by the Tachi, usually in the wintertime when it would be "danced all night" by an open fire. Five men of no special totem stood in a row with three women at each end. The men wore the usual upright feather headdress (ču) and had bunches of flicker feathers tied to their arms and wrists. There were three singers who sat at one side and used a clapper accompaniment (tawa´taw꞉l). The dancers paid the singers; spectators paid the dancers.

The onlookers would say, "What dance is that?" A singer would reply, "Deer dance,"
535 referring to the songs which were about birds
539 and animals.[105] M.G. could only remember two such songs, which are doubtfully translated.

hi´awe na ko´no
Where am I, Daylight?

mosa´o wa na ko´no
Little sweathouse in [?] long I,
Daylight

In the second, Pelican (ho´hima) is singing.

he´li ipai´ya na
Pack in my head food I [refers
to pelican's method of putting
fish in his pouch]

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[103]Ibid., 506.

[104]Ibid., 507.

[105]Kroeber gives three Tachi songs, none of which seems pertinent to this discussion although one is, indeed, a dance song (Yokuts Language, 366); two Yaudanchi dance songs are about deer (ibid., 369).

KOYETI

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539
756

One of Maiyemai's songs is given by Kroeber:[118]

lanaka nan-a
listen to me

mayèmai
[name of the composer of the song]

notu na keu
east I there

teicin-è wèhè
shall-emerge wehe

wè mukulau
we [turning]

hi sonolo wèhè
hi hand-feather-ornament wehe

756

Another important doctor, not a Koyeti, was Sapagai of Tejon. Another doctor, named Ci´c:n, killed Sapagai because he failed to cure someone.

About ceremonies little could be obtained from D.F. He knew the Doctors' Contest but doubted that it was ever made by the Koyeti at any time.

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Huhuna was danced (?) by a Yaudanchi man named Camau´sa (a nickname meaning "many whiskers"). This man performed at Tejon and at Tule. D.F. claims he did not dance: "just tried to find money."[119] The costume was not intelligibly described, but D.F. thought Huhuna's face was covered. He "ran around by

[118] The Yokuts Language, 367; given to Kroeber by Peter Christman, a Yaudanchi informant.

[119] D.F. may have meant that he did not dance as in the kum or do conventional dance steps.

539 773 The sweat house.---The sweat house (mos) was first obtained from Bear.[144]

Bear always had a sweat house and that is where people first got it. People saw it and wanted one like it. Eagle, the chief, sent Dove to ask Bear about his sweat house. It took the messenger a day to reach his place. Bear received him and agreed to come the next morning. When Dove started to go, Bear detained him. "If you can beat me to that gap in the hills down there, you may go." Dove ran off. If Bear had caught him before he reached the spot, he would have killed him. But to Bear's astonishment Dove got there first and continued on his trip home.

The next morning Bear came. He asked the people where they wanted their sweat house. They said, "Close to the water." He went out and cut a lot of long poles. He dug out a pit in the ground. He built the sweat house just like his own. No one helped him, yet he had the structure completed by sundown.

The chief sent for all the people to pay Bear. Bear told them not to start a big fire in the sweat house yet, to have just a little one for the first day. Then Bear received his pay and went home.

The people got brush and made a fire, then lay down near it. They wondered who should sing; they decided that a man with Bear as his lineage totem had better do it. So a Bear man sang: hoyoho´ na'a, hoyoho´ na'a, ho' ho' ho' (hoyoho, Bear, hoyoho Bear). He repeated this over and over and kept time by slapping his thighs (J.P.).

515 Now it is nearly always a Bear or Eagle man who sings in the sweat house, although any man may do so if he wishes or is asked to. According to Kroeber, men sometimes divided themselves in two groups, singing songs and competing with each other in enduring extreme heat. Such a sweat was followed by bathing and a sound sleep. Another swim was taken in the morning.[145]

[534] The flute was frequently played there. But no dancing of any type took place within the sweat house in the Central Foothill region.

Any man who wished to might go in the sweat house. On rare occasions boys went in while a sweat was in progress. But a lad was not allowed to take a severe sweat until he was fifteen or sixteen years old, as the physical strain was too great. Boys of eight or so onward were permitted to sleep there at night; especially were they sent there when the home was crowded. Young men and single men slept there the year around. Married men occasionally stayed there for social pleasure and during a wife's tabu period after childbirth, according to my informants; whereas Kroeber

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[144] The Walapai held a similar belief (Kroeber, Walapai Ethnography, 118). Also mentioned in a myth (Gayton and Newman, 89).

[145] Kroeber, Handbook, 523.

292 encompass the head, and tied with strings at the back of the head. These strings were sometimes wound around the hair which had been pulled into a bunch at the nape.

Personal care.---Both sexes brushed the 302 hair daily with a soaproot brush. Men would do 515 this in the morning if they had no immediate work. Women more often brushed and arranged their hair in the early afternoon after returning from seed-gathering, pounding acorns, or other arduous work. For washing hair, chips of [368] dried soaproot were put in a large basket of warm water. This was done at the creekside if possible and the hair was rinsed in running-water. Normally the hair was not washed while swimming.

754 Both sexes took care in the disposal of hair which, if found by a malicious shaman or by an evil person who would take it to a shaman, could be used for contagious magic. (How this was accomplished M.L. could not say.) Women hid their hair combings until a large bunch had collected, then took this to a spring of water where it was buried under a stone. To do this not only ensured safety from magic but aided the hair on the head by causing it to grow [826] more luxuriantly. Combings were not burned because this would cause the living hair to fall out prematurely. Menstruants scratched the [841] head with a stick; otherwise the hairs would split and fall out.

Spittle was covered over to protect it from shamans.

826 Nail "parings" (if any) were not protected. Some people tore off nails but most kept them ground down by rubbing them on a small water-rolled stone. A woman, particularly an old one, might let a left thumb- or big-toenail grow excessively. This served as an instrument in shelling nuts, seeds, splitting basket materials, or even as a personal weapon. When such a nail broke off, it was left anywhere.

M.L. recounted the following of her maternal grandmother who had a long toenail.

826 One of Ju´´ulneš' daughters had married a man who was a reckless gambler. He lost every-539 thing. Then he played the chip and pole game with a man, bet his wife as the stake, and lost her. The men became angry and began to fight. The old woman, looking on, was very mad at her son-in-law whom she already despised as worthless. She grabbed some ropes of ča and [presumably with the help of the man's opponent] succeeded in tying up the culprit. Then Ju'ulneš picked up some stones and hit him. As he fell she kicked him and cut his penis with her long toenail. She was so pleased with her success that she kept her nail long thereafter.

292 Ceremonial dress.---The fundamental parts of ceremonial regalia, usually worn by shamans when engaged in public dances or rituals, were the feather headdress and feather skirt. Additional ornaments of feathers, skins, beads,

[text continues on p. 69]

224 Deer meat was never sold, always given away. When men provided venison for public gatherings, they were paid for their trouble (services). Doctors, says S.G., were given the best parts.

There are reasons for this respect for deer.

224 In the first world Deer was a quiet man
539 who never went any place, and didn't talk. Then
773 when it was time for the change[168] Eagle said to him, "All your body will be worth something. It isn't everybody who will be able to kill you." The next morning Deer ran out of his house. He made a big cave to live in. The next day there were thousands of deer in there. On the third day three hunters came to kill Deer; they were Cougar, Elk, and Spotted Cat. Coyote came along and interfered; he caught a deer. The deer got mad and all ran away. Finally Cougar succeeded in killing some deer--he is the best hunter.

Now this Deer (mets hoi) lives back in this cave somewhere. Whenever a deer is killed it returns there. The "big" Deer has an arrow which he puts up in the cave. When "the right kind of person kills a deer" (treats it with respect) the arrow remains in place, but if the hunter is careless with his game, the arrow "will fall in less than a month and kill him."[169] A killed deer does not return to this world; the supply of deer continues by natural breeding.

224 Neither cougar nor bear was given any sign of veneration when it was killed, said S.G. Cougar "was a bad one," men who dreamed of him "got too much power." Bear was "not a killer, he only killed when he had to and then killed men."

223 Great respect was shown eagles, in fact,
435 only a chief could order one killed. He paid
237 $3.00 to $5.00 for one. A man or woman would be asked to pluck and skin it, and would be paid for the task. The large feathers were plucked off, the down left on the skin which was cased. Nothing of the eagle was ever thrown away; if it were, the hunter would die. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were later sold by the chief to those who wanted them. An eagle leg was said to be worth about $2.50. Feathers having been plucked from it, the down-covered skin of the leg was cased, cleaned, dried, and then made pliable with tallow. In this way it served as a little container from which the down could be pulled as
[534] needed. The bone of the upper leg was made into a whistle. Tallow was used as a salve, and as a binder for face paint.

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[168] Transformation to animals, and coming of human beings, vide Gayton and Newman, abstract 137 and notes.

[171] [169] The Navajo, among other western tribes, believe that a killed deer returns "home" to report on its treatment; if not satisfactory, the hunter is stricken with illness or death (Hill, Agricultural and Hunting Methods, 96).

223 237 The eagle's carcass was returned to the hunter who killed it. He put it in the river, completely immersed.

539 723 Eagle lived over the water before the world was changed.[170] It is the only place he can be buried. He rises in three days and goes back to his home which is way back east somewhere. At that place there is one main one (mɛts ṭo ́hɨl) who says to the risen bird, "Who killed you?" Eagle tells what has happened to him, and if he has been treated properly the head Eagle says, "He was the right kind of man; he will live to be an old man." If the report was not good, then the man would die right away. The eagle who had been killed never again returned to earth, but kept flying in the opposite direction, upward, higher and higher (S.G.).[171]

136 Three "eagles" designated by S.G. proved to be condor (wɛts), "who lived high in the mountains," the bald eagle (wi ́tɨs), and grey eagle (ṭohɨl), who was "the only real tiya [chief] and the only one that knew anything." Grey eagle took "the power" from the other two and they are carrion as a result. Once S.G. saw an eagle that had been in a coyote trap four days. It did not move as he approached, but directly he released it, it flew off home.

224 [136] J.P. said that when a man went out to kill bear, deer, or eagle, and sometimes rabbit "because he [rabbit] was a little bit mean too," but not squirrels or birds, he would keep talking to them about what he was going to do. When he was near his prey he would say, "ṭundi ́ta pŏ ́dta ma ṭupɨ ́nita," (? ? you go-up) so that it would not be offended. When hunting this same animal or its companions, the hunter would be agreeable to it. He would tell it that he would "fix up" its body so that it would go up, ṭi ́pɨni. "A mean animal is one that runs after people, or hurts them, or runs away so as not to be killed. In old days a bear would run after people and kill them. A Bear man would go out in the night and prayerfully ask Bear not to keep people from getting their food" [chasing them when they were hunting, gathering acorns or clover, etc.].

Deer hunting.--When stalking deer or antelope the hunter wore a horned disguise of either animal, though it was said that the most skilled hunters did not resort to this.

[281] The Wukchumni deer-stalking disguise was made of the entire skin and antlers. In skinning an animal the legs were cut lengthwise on the inside, and a ventral cut was made from the

[170] In the prehuman era, before the birds and animals transformed themselves into their present forms. However, in this instance S.G.'s explanation is, I think, a rationalization. Water is "immortal" and revival by placing in water is the common Yokuts belief, as expressed verbally and in their myths.

[171] [171] The Navajo believe that "killed eagles go way up in the sky and live there" (Hill, op. cit., 98).

224 539 773 Holo'anši, J.P.'s maternal grandfather [great uncle ?] was a very fine hunter and was frequently out with his weapons. One morning he saw a bear with two cubs; he went home and told his friends about it. The next morning twelve men, each with bow and arrows, started for the bear's cave.

"Who is going to run?" they said. Holo'anši offered to as he was a good runner, but another man wanted to, too: they argued a bit. Meanwhile the others arranged a semi-circle of stakes, driving them into the ground in front of the cave. They took up shooting positions behind these. Holo'anši went to the cave entrance to lure the bear, but the bear rushed at him before he could draw his bow. He was forced to run toward the circle of stakes with the bear clawing at his heels. The second runner jumped in to draw the bear's attention, and another man succeeded in shooting her in the shoulder. She continued to pursue the second runner. Holo'anši dashed in the cave to grab the cubs, but the mother saw him and went after him. Now, Lizard was the dream helper of Holo'anši and he came to his rescue. He gave that man power to climb right up the side of the cave and whisk up and out of the entrance just out of the bear's grasp. But outside Holo'anši was forced to run, and the bear still chased him. Holo'anši tried to climb a high rock pile but at that moment the bear caught him, clawing and biting him. The other men were all too frightened to do anything, save the second runner who came up and shot the bear three times as she turned toward her cave again.

The men carried Holo'anši back to camp. They put his eyes back and all his skin in place. They covered him entirely with eagle down and dosed him with jimsonweed. He began to get better at once, but some bad doctor saw that this was his chance to do away with Holo'anši. He shot "poison" at him, and the old man died the next day.

411 322 **Weapons.**---The plain bow (ta'dup) and sinew-backed bow (tap) were used by the Wukchumni. S.G. claimed that both were made of elderwood (wuse'ta). He said few men knew how to make a sinew-backed bow, but any man could and did make the plain kind -- as follows. When the length had been chosen and cut, and the bark peeled off, the stick was set with one end in a crotch and the other end pulled until it split down its entire length. If it split properly, two bows could be made from the two halves. Thereafter shaping was done with a large obsidian blade. No grip was cut on the plain bow. To aid flexibility occasional gashes were cut on the inside curve, which was the bark side of the wood, i.e., the core of the wood was on the outside. The bow was heated over glowing coals and pulled around the knee to form the center curve. The end recurvature, which was slight in the plain bow, was made by fixing the end in a vicelike crotch and pulling it until the desired effect was obtained. The shaping progressed bit by bit and was not accomplished in less than three to six days.

622 The methods by which chiefs and shamans coöperated to their mutual benefit has been treated at length elsewhere.[227] For the Wukchumni, S.G.'s remarks will serve as a summary statement.

622 The chief (tia'a) always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a
539 ceremony. If he got short of money, he would
556 have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If
754 the chosen victim belonged to another tribe, he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking him to have his doctor kill that man. If the chief accepted the money, he had his doctor start the process of sickening and killing the rich man. The money received was divided between the doctor and the two chiefs. Doctors who killed in this way made sure that the patient would finally send for them by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

We usually had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

622 A chief could himself be a shaman, as was
756 J.P.'s grandfather, who was a snake-handler. But there is no instance of a chief being a regular curing shaman, the true doctor who cured or, when bad, caused sickness.

624 Subchief.--The Wukchumni and Yaudanchi had
769 a type of secondary chief (tuye''i) whose only function seemed to be to assist the head chiefs of a tribe at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Although three informants stated that the position was hereditary in the male line, they could not say what members of a subchief's family were called by the term tuye''i, whether or not there was an invariable lineage totem (as Eagle for the chief), or specify any other duties than those mentioned below.

S.G. said that the tuye'i was a kind of secondary chief; the position "went in families" and could be held by either sex. The subchiefs "came behind" the tia'a and made up the deficit amount of money if there was a shortage in meeting the expenses of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Young male tuye'i of about ten years of age or over contributed.[228] If something happened to prevent a chief from presiding at the mourning ceremony, the subchiefs managed it and were the first served at meals. On the evening of the fifth day of the ceremony, the subchiefs gave a feast for the head chief or chiefs at which they presented these men with the money, baskets, and blankets.

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[227] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[228] This seems excessively young, for Yokuts culture does not provide a means of accruing money at such an age; 20 years would seem more probable.

[P. 100b] Wukchumni

231 chumni people. Fox (adja) and wildcat (tunod) "may have been somebody's poša," but M.L. could not connect them with any known family. She did not know whether the Waksachi had totemic animals or not, but claimed that Gawia, Telamni, and "everybody down this way" had them. The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod chiefs all had Eagle as their family animal; M.L. was uncertain if this held for the Tachi.

825 782 432 Redemption of totem animal.--When eagles, bears, or coyotes were killed it was necessary that a propitiatory ceremony be held to ensure the continued good will of the animals. There was an ill-defined but firm belief that all animals existed "somewhere," that any member of the species that was killed returned to this supernatural place and reported on the treatment which it had received when killed. Should an unfavorable report be made, ill would betide the killer, and the animals would no longer permit themselves to be victims of human hunters. This was the basis of all hunting formulae. The deer, however, was not totemic, and its propitiation was only the duty of the hunter. But eagles, bears, and coyotes were totems and it was the function of the lineages for which they were symbols to redeem them from their killers. These animals were feared not only for their physical prowess but for their supernatural powers.

825 782 J.P. described the ritual for bears and eagles.

539 432 If a man killed a bear, he would take it to a man who had Bear for poša. If the animal had been killed close by, the whole carcass would be carried to the Bear man's home. Usually it was far away, so the hunter just cut off the bear's feet and put them in a basket. Then he took this, some other baskets, and a blanket and went to the Bear man's home. The blanket was laid down before the door; the basket containing the feet was placed in the center and the other baskets ranged behind it.

The house chosen was that of the head of the Bear lineage who was usually the oldest Bear man and a Bear dancer. He sent a winatum to gather other members of the Bear lineage. When they saw what was there, "they went and got food, money, and baskets and traded with the hunter for the bear's feet and other things with it." The head Bear man go the feet and used the claws for a necklace. When the skin was brought he would buy that too. The skin included the head but not the skull. The skin would be tanned for use either as a blanket or for the Bear Dance costume. "It had the hair and ears left on and sure looked pretty!" While he was buying these things the Bear man "talked to the bear: he told it to be good, not to run after anyone, nor to kill people." Sometimes the other people cried while he was doing this.

825 782 432 It was incumbent upon the Bear people to redeem their poša. "The buyer would get broke while the hunter made lots of money." Then the hunter's people would have a big feast, for

825 they got the meat as well as the money since
782 the pošam could not eat it. No special dis-
432 posal was made of the carcass, according to this informant, a statement which I have always thought dubious.[237]

825 "Eagle was worse. If a man killed an
782 eagle he must take it to the tia'a or he'd die
539 right away, because Eagle would get mad." Then
432 all the chief's relatives would gather to pay for their totem; a winatum called them to come. All the tia'a's people cried when they saw that dead bird. Since there were sometimes two or three chiefly men in a village they would divide the buying, thus, one would buy the wing feathers, another the leg bones, and another the down. Then the killer of the eagle ate the meat. "The chief would not let those people gathered there go away until all the meat was eaten." When the killer had finished, the chief took the eagle's carcass and buried it in water so that it would be revived and return to its supernatural home. As he did this he said, "tuñdi´ta po´dta ma tup:´nita" (? ? you go up). This was the same phrase used by a hunter when he had killed game.

825 The same thing was done with a coyote car-
782 cass. It was taken to a Coyote elder who
432 called his people to pay for it. The coyote lay on a blanket, the people threw down their strings of money over it, and cried. If the hide were wanted for a Coyote clown costume, it would be skinned, but if not, the Coyote man "buried the whole thing right then because nobody ate that meat."

825 Totemic animals and associated professions.---J.P. and M.P. named a list of totemic animals and their associated professions.

Rattlesnake: for rattlesnake shaman who made the Rattlesnake Ritual
Bear (both black and brown): for Bear Dancers
Cougar: for chiefs who might have this in addition to Eagle
Eagle: for all chiefs
Dove: for all winatums
Coyote: "always clowns"
Trout: only one person [Henry Lawrence] known to have this as a family emblem
Raven: ceremonial manager
Crow [blackbird (?), aduw:ɨs]: J.P.'s maternal grandmother had this; no profession

Neither informant ever heard of anyone having deer as poša (though he could be a dream-helper). Everyone ate deer, all kinds of
[262] squirrels and rodents, woodpeckers and other birds. No person killed or ate any portion of his totem animal.

These are all the totemic animals these informants could recall for Wukchumni people. They believed that the Gawia, Yokod, and other tribes had the same family totems: "they were

[237] See, for instance, Heizer and Hewes, 592 ff.

683 ened all the Indians. This was because Kipat had so much ṭ:rni."

The Shaman's Cache

756 778 It was believed that most shamans had private caches (pa´čki) where they kept not only their sacred outfits of talismans, but their wealth, and even the stuffed skins of dead women adorned with beads and other valuable ornaments. The cache would be in a cliff or rock pile; cracks indicated the door, which [531] opened at the owner's command. The rocks were usually painted; in fact, any rock with pictographs was thought to be a cache. A rock pile in Drum Valley was shown me as a shaman's cache; there was another at Hoganu.[258]

756 778 823 [531] Both S.G. and M.P. described a big cache near Gutsnumi which they said was in a big hill known as Bell Bluff, called Čoiš:šiu (lit., dog place). This was on Kaweah River directly opposite the old village site, now known as Terminus Beach, and was marked with pictographs. (These I was unable to find; M.P.'s children, who started as guides, became frightened and ran home.) S.G. said that there were several inner chambers "each as big as a house" and that they were filled with native treasures (baskets, beads, feather ornaments, etc.) and female effigies of stuffed skins. When one walked over the hill one could hear it was hollow, "your footsteps sound different." S.G. expressed apprehension lest the hill might some day be dynamited, for if so, "all kinds of bad diseases would fly out over the country."

825 778 539 M.P. had a frightening experience there (hence her children's nervousness). The rocks of the bluff are painted with pictographs, she said, but she would not accompany me there.

756 Long ago her uncle warned her not to look at them as she would get sore eyes. Moreover there was a beautiful weird dog there which came out of the rocks to attack investigators. However, she and her cousin went down there one evening just at dusk. A ghost came out after them. They jumped to one side of the trail and "it went right by and on down the hill looking like fire." M.P. believed that the cross she was wearing at the time saved her. When the girls reached home the uncle chided them for going down there. He said that in that hill were [the skins of] beautiful boys and girls stuffed with tule, and each one had a basket of money. The shamans had eaten their flesh and liver. The dog which guarded the cache had a snake's body and human hands for feet. A white man once saw it, shot at it, and died the next morning.

The belief in these guardian dogs explains the common term for shamans' caches, wherever

[258] Shown in Steward, Petroglyphs of California, 110-139, figs. 51, 52.

756 located, Čoiš·šu (dog place); the correct name is pački.

Anecdotes of Supernatural and Curing Experiences

787 1. J.P.'s grandmother, Pono´sa, dreamed
776 of a roadrunner which came and hopped on her hand; it told her how to help women in labor. She was not a professional doctor: "this was just her ain·c" [dream helper].

2. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši, was a snake handler; J.P.'s poša was Rattlesnake.[259] Once J.P. was bitten by a rattlesnake;
[752] he went to his uncle, who cut off the snake, put it in a bag, and later released it near a rock pile. The uncle sucked the wound and put ashes on it; he told J.P. never to kill a snake.

3. In 1926, J.P.'s horse, while grazing, was bitten on the nose by a rattlesnake. It was sick for a week yet recovered although J.P. did nothing to cure it. J.P. said, "It got well because Rattlesnake is my poša. Anybody else's horse would have died. Yes, sir!"

787 4. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši
789 was of the Rattlesnake lineage. He had the
776 special power of being invulnerable to bullets, having "dreamed of a gun that didn't go off" [sic]. He dreamed thus:

He was down in a gulley. Two men came along and shot at him, but the bullets did not penetrate his clothes. They called to him to come up, but instead he flew out of his clothes and landed on the far side of the [Kaweah] river. There he turned into a rattlesnake "so that even the horses could not see him."

An analogue to this dream occurred soon after. The old man was down by the river when two white men, one of whom was John Doe,[260] came by on horseback. They called to him and, when he did not respond, shot at him. "The bullets came right at him but didn't hurt him." He called on his poša: instantly he turned into a rattlesnake and slipped away in the underbrush.

J.P. added that dreams of invulnerability were common.

756 5. The power of flying, known to northern
789 neighbors of the Wukchumni, was mentioned by
237 S.G.

A shaman from Kings River came down to a Wukchumni celebration a long time ago. He was going to be killed by some avengers, but someone warned him. He had three strings of eagle-down cord each about five feet long. At this ceremony he walked out across the assembly space dragging the talismans behind him. Suddenly he vanished from sight. After the trouble was over he reappeared again.

756 6. J.B. told of a man who dreamed he was
787 chased by a ghost (tawatsa) all the way from Dunlap to Drum Valley. When he arrived there, a shaman already knew what had happened and told of it. "Doctors always knew what other people dreamed."

[259] He followed his maternal lineage totem because his paternal ancestry was part white.

[260] J.P. added, "John Doe went blind because he wasn't a good man. He had a lot of white doctors to help him but he didn't treat them right."

533 two were sung by Chunut doctors,[267] the other four were Wukchumni.

533 1. ta´wːt ṭːnima tawatawːl [repeat 4 times]
dead maybe motion of hand feathers in dancer's hands
539

soisoi ma´yːn tawːt ṭːnima
Goldfinch calls dead maybe

ho ma ta´niša tawːt ṭːnima
are you going dead maybe

soisoi mayːn
goldfinch calls

Perhaps dead? feathers moving
Perhaps Goldfinch tells [you] to be dead
Perhaps you are going to the dead
Goldfinch is calling [you]

2. hiwai´tːn ni
walking I [it is understood Bear is speaking]

hu´nai hiwaitːn ni
nothing walking I

hunai hoi´yuwo nːm
nothing come back my

ča´wai hunai o´yai
someone nothing calls

I am walking
I am just walking for nothing
My return is for nothing
Someone is calling me for nothing

3. so´kšok šo´kšok ṭu´mːt na ṭːpni ṭumːt na ṭːpni
kingfisher kingfisher cover me power cover me power

šo´ho· šo´ho· na· na´hːt na· na´hːt [nonsense line]

kate´ wahːn na
doing circle I

Kingfisher, Kingfisher, cover me with your power
I am circling about [as a kingfisher flies when hunting]

4. ñohõ´ʻõ o´mta na ma hanːnwa
Bear hunting I you all

ma ah´taha na
you hunt I

ṭepa´ne ma
power you

Bear, I am hunting you all
You have great supernatural power

[267] Later on, while we were working with the Chunut at Lemoore, little girls were overheard singing the first song (1). Kroeber gives several Yokuts songs in The Yokuts Language, 363-372.

[P. 1180] Wukchumni

5335. aiyama´t:n na pa´n:n
539 worthless I country [it is understood Coyote is speaking]

he´y:n do´mto pan:n aiya´mči
they call mountain country worthless

I'm worthless
The mountain people call me worthless

6. ta'a´nad uku´n ču´haš pokai´du
I going drink finished [?] spring water

wa do´mtuk Wukediu
far mountainward Wukediu [name of spring]

I am going to drink spring water
Far up the mountain at Wukediu

524 Another dance or game was described most
883 incoherently by M.L. She could give it no name and said it was participated in by young people on moonlight nights. Essentially it was a kind of "roughhouse." Girls who did not want to take part would be seized by winatums, laughingly scolded, and thrown into the group.

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The following account combines information from M.L., M.P., S.G., and J.B., who were in agreement on all essential points. Not one of these informants, however, admitted taking jimsonweed and no subsequent information led me to doubt their veracity. A participant would have been preferable as an informant.

796 The ceremony of jimsonweed drinking
262 (taña´y:n; ta´ñai, jimsonweed) was always held in the early spring about February to March;
276 "while the sagebrush was in bloom" (M.P.). Soon after the winter solstice a winatum would go through the village saying that all those who wished or intended to participate in the next ceremony must cease to eat meat. Not only did the prospective drinkers observe this tabu but also "their parents and everyone connected with it" [i.e., specifically the leader of the ritual] must abstain also (M.P.). Thereafter only acorn dishes and clover were eaten until twelve days after the rite had taken place - roughly speaking, a period of three months.

796 Adolescent boys and girls partook, but not
787 under compulsion. The general purpose was an insurance of future good health and consequent
276 long life; some youths hoped to obtain supernatural helpers by this means; much secret knowledge was discovered during the coma, e.g., who were evil shamans and who their prospective victims, or the causes of peculiar and chronic illnesses. Normally jimsonweed was taken but

796 M.L.'s description of the Bear Dance was essentially the same, She was a participant along with her relatives -- her mother, mother's sister, her younger sister [cousin] and brother [cousin?] -- of whom her mother's brother, Tai´sus, was the leader. The chief at Diapnuša would send his winatum to Taisus saying it was time to hold the dance [sic].

796 237 The male dancers wore whole bearskins fastened on their backs, but held nothing in their hands. The women merely wore the usual deerskin apron, ear plugs, etc., of dress occasions, and carried bunches of crow feathers [534] in their hands. At one side were two singers who used rattles made of stiff deer hide tied over the end of a stick and containing a few pebbles. This type was used for no other dance.

The men held up their hands and, taking three hops forward, said "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The women made no sound, but remained in one place with feather bunches raised, making little lifting motions with their heels.

796 533 Meanwhile the singers sang. Two of their songs follow:

● 539 1. so´nowau nim luka´omao
storehouse my [place name]

(My storehouse is at Lukaomao)

2. wa´šo wa·ha·so· hu·še·me·hu
small basket small basket [futurity]

wa´šo ukun husim ñohõ´'õ na husim
small basket drink [futurity] Bear I
[futurity]

(I, Bear, will drink from my little acorn mush basket)

796 No matter how much the spectators wished to see the dance repeated, it could be done but once on each occasion, "they had to wait till next year."

The Yaudanchi probably had the same dance, as Kroeber attributes it to them and to the Choinimni.[270]

[302] ...The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a head- [237] band of eagle down and a claw necklace, or a skin around the loins that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe.

The Yaudanchi informant, M.S. of Moko village, categorically denied the Bear Dance

[270] Handbook, 517.

[P. 121 b] Western Mono NS25 1925
Patwisha

Y 796 and Huhuna Dance to the Yaudanchi, attributing these dances and any performers making them to the Wukchumni.

Deer Dance

M 796 Another dance, ascribed primarily to the Patwisha and of somewhat the same genre as the Bear Dance, was the Deer Dance. According to J.B.'s account:

> This was done every spring soon after the Snake Ritual. It was danced by Ni´wič and Ha´ñaš, brothers. Both men were fine hunters. They assumed no deer ornaments, merely dancing in the usual ceremonial regalia. They held their hands up close to their shoulders, palms out, and took dainty steps markedly to the left and to the right, at each step uttering a plaintive "Ma·a·a·!"

M 796 825 Like the dancing bear she had seen, J.B.'s wife also saw some dancing deer, a very rare experience.

> This was on a little hill near Dunlap. Six deer came tripping out from some undergrowth. They progressed by taking a step to the right, hesitating, then a step to the left, hesitating, and so on. At each step they said "Ma·a·" in squeaky little voices "just like lambs." J.B.'s wife remained utterly still until the deer, still mincing, vanished into the brush.

Beaver Dance

Y 796 Another ceremony of the display type was staged by men who had power from fish, or possibly from water or water creatures. Both M.L. and M.P. had witnessed this, but neither of them could attach any purpose to it. The citing of "fish camps" along the rivers suggests that the rite might have something to do with the fish supply.

According to M.L., the Beaver Dance took place about midwinter. A doctor who had power from fish (čadut aṇṭu, catfish doctor) built a tule-covered house around the outside of which he hung cured beaver skins (tau´piš). While spectators gathered outside, he entered the booth, sang, and danced. As he did this the beaver skins trembled and a "swsh-swsh, swsh-swsh" sounded continuously. Then a woman, a "plain" woman, who had no ṭ¡pni power and who was not sick, would lie down and groan. The doctor emerged, brushed her off with his hand feathers, and sang in a soft whispering voice:

Y 796 539 533

> ča´dut, ča´dut, ča´dut
> catfish, catfish, catfish
>
> e´base, e´base, e´base
> trout, trout, trout

796
539
533

koko´čo, koko´čo, koko´čo
[a very large fish]

tapa´psu, tapa´psu, tapa´psu
perch, perch, perch

The onlookers marked time with their hands or feet and sang continuously the burden:

ha´ho·'ho·', ha´ho·'ho·', ha´ho·'ho·'

The woman "patient" did not sing. Several more women would do the same thing. M.L. thought they were perhaps empowered by the doctor's mind, hypnotized so to say. [This fits with Kroeber's description of this rite as a "willing" or "wishing" one.] Then a man (ahaja´'amu añṭu, not translated) lay down groaning too. Neither in this nor in any other display had M.L. seen showers of fish appear.

796 M.P.'s description differs from this somewhat, and it may be that shamans differed in the staging of their displays. She said that the "fish doctor" performed in his own house, but that a partition of mats was arranged between himself and his audience. Two or three men participated, and men, women, and children looked on. M.P. said the one performance which she saw was in her childhood and she "wouldn't have been able to keep awake if it hadn't been so pretty."

The walls and partition were hung with beaver skins. The principal fish doctor danced and in a singing voice called out the name of every fishing camp and village along the river [Kaweah]. As he did this the beaver skins shook and little fish (ta´k·t, minnow ?) dropped out of the skins. In some manner these fish fell over the other side of the partition on the shamans who "had to call for help there were so many of them." After this performance the "men and women ate all night" but what they ate M.P. did not know because she was sent to bed.

825 I have used the term Beaver Dance for this ritual because the beaver skins seem to be an essential part of the performance and because the term fits with the Yokuts ritual series -- Bear, Snake, Seed-growing, Rain-making, Jimsonweed-drinking -- more appropriately than the correct but abstract name "wishing ceremony" (ohowish) used by Kroeber.[271] His description of the rite is as follows:

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> ...Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the ohowish medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such

[271] Ibid., 507.

W Y 764 Burial took place the morning after death.[175] All the mourners followed the corpse-carrier, walking slowly. As the body was let into the grave, in sitting posture facing north [sic], the carrier made an address accompanied by wails from the onlookers.

"You will never see this person again. This poor old man is gone. Don't worry too much, just take it easy." And to the corpse's spirit, "Don't bother anyone. You're gone. Now go!"

Women, and some men, were afraid of the ghost.

Then all the deceased's possessions -- clothes, bows and arrows, or baskets -- were put in the grave. Then everyone took handfuls of earth and filled it in. When all was done, the corpse-carrier announced, "Go home!" And W Y [783] all went directly and briskly home: it was essential that there be no deviating nor loitering on the way. There was no purification by the mourners or corpse-handlers.

W Y 767 All the duties connected with the burying of the dead "went in families," according to S.O. The corpse-handlers were called, generically, tonoč:m, and ghosts of the dead were their totems. However, both S.O. and B.O. thought that the individuals themselves were not transvestites. It appears that both men and women worked at the same time and the workers, at least in washing and carrying the body, were of the same sex as the deceased.

W Y 775 ●539 Afterworld.---A dead person's spirit is called tawa'tsan i'n:l (Michahai), tso'ape o'haba·wa (Waksachi). This may be equated with soul or ghost, as a person has but one spirit; it is the same entity which has dream experiences and is, during life, vaguely located in the heart. The following was related by S.O.

The spirit lies in the ground two days and one night, then on the second evening it leaves just after sundown. It goes west, far beyond our sight [it does not go up]. There is one little road to go. Far, far away he reaches a huge expanse of water. Now he is getting close to the dead. Here, on this side is one big chief (tia'a) sitting in his house. The chief calls the traveling spirit in and asks him where he belongs. When he learns his tribe, he tells him where he will find his dead relatives and friends when he reaches the land of the dead (tib: 'kn:č).

There is a little bridge that goes clear out over the water -- a long, long bridge. When the spirit is far out on it, a water creature flashes up to scare him; if the spirit is frightened, he will fall in the water never to recover. But if he pays no heed to the creature, he will reach the far shore where many fires can be seen burning. People over

[175] A death occurring at or after midnight would call for burial, not the next, but the next-after-next, morning, i.e., roughly 24 to 36 hours elapsed between death and disposal.

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there see the new spirit coming; they go to welcome him and lead him to his relatives' fire. Games and dancing are in course everywhere. But when the morning star rises, everything disappears until dusk, when it becomes visible again.[176]

Mourning.--The house in which death occurred was always abandoned; although it was not invariably burned, no one else would move into it. The former inmates built themselves a new house, not necessarily far off -- "fifty feet maybe." Mourning observances were maintained by bereaved spouses, parents, or offspring; siblings, cousins, grandparents, or relatives-in-law did not observe them unless the circumstances of life -- propinquity, or physical or emotional dependence -- had brought them abnormally close to the dead person. The length of time mourning endured depended again on the degree of bereavement. A widow was expected to mourn a year, a widower but three months, as minimal periods. Usually a small personal ritual ended deep mourning, so to say, after three to six months, but spiritual mourning and the meat tabu, continued until the large annual tribal mourning ceremony was held.

The observances of mourning were as follows. The hair was singed off close to the head with a hot charred stick; the hair was always disposed of in water and weighted down with a stone, never buried nor burned [reason unknown to any informant]. Dirt was allowed, even encouraged by the use of pitch, to accumulate on the face and body; only the hands were washed. No meat or grease might be eaten, although yellowjackets' nests (tabu to pregnant women) were admissible as food. No visiting was done save among relatives, and attendance at any ceremony was unthinkable. A brooding attitude was maintained, and old women frequently released their melancholy in wailing outside the village at dawn and dusk.

Verbal observances by others who were not themselves mourners were: a tabu on the name of the dead person, the changing of one's name if it were that of the deceased, and the changing of kinship terms for relatives connected with the speaker through the deceased. The changing of one's name was not a difficulty, as only one person in a family -- usually a paternal grandchild, grandnephew, or grandniece -- could possibly have it. The change need not be permanent, as the tabu was lifted after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Furthermore, a change could be made by phonetic distortion, as in kinship terms, if one did not wish to take a wholly new name. Nicknames were often coined and applied at such times.

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[176]At this point S.O. volunteered the "Orpheus Myth" in order to explain to me how the nature of the afterworld was known to man (see Gayton, Orpheus Myth; Gayton and Newman, 35).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
EP 242 [illegible] NS25

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One night when he was staying with a friend he fell asleep suddenly. Then Night spoke to him chidingly, saying that S.O. was treating him badly, ignoring his efforts to help him. Then "he gave me a song to make me happy and told me to sing it whenever I felt sad." [It is in Michahai.]

W
Y
[539]

hunai ´ʾawi·[184] [repeat 3 times]

ta ´wapun pa· ´na· [repeat 3 times]
all right my world

hi ´am na mum taw· ´nĕi
now I am sorry

hunu ´mĕu na
to be too weak to move from prolonged fasting I

hunai ´ʾawi· [repeat 3 times]

ta ´wapun pa ´ʾana· [repeat 3 times]

S.O. woke up instantly and began singing the song lest he "lose it." His friend awoke asking what was the matter. But S.O. continued to sing; he ate no breakfast and later he went out to talk to Night in solitude. He said: "Give me well-being, Night." [·niša ´man wa·ni´i ´nwa toiyo ´ni; ·nsiš is "good," prosperity, satisfaction; perhaps "blessing" would best fit in the phrase. Any other name, Water, Cougar, etc., could be substituted in this phrase, which was standardized.]

S.O.'s friend said nothing about his behavior; he understood. Thereafter S.O. was happy and he sang the song whenever he began to feel depressed.

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4. Not all dreams were accepted, since a dreamer might not want the type of power proffered. As an example of this S.O. related the following. He dreamed it some years ago; he said it was a common type, that he had dreamed it more than once and that many other people had experienced it.

He dreamed he was walking along somewhere off in the hills. He sat down on a rock. Immediately it began to grow. It kept rising until he "was about fifty feet up in the air." He wondered how he was going to get down. He looked all around, and was afraid to move for fear of falling off. Finally he discovered that a live oak tree was growing right beside the rock. So he climbed into it and made his way down. As soon as he reached the ground the rock shrank to normal size.

Although S.O. did not want to use this dream, he addressed it as a matter of respect.

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[184] S.O. could not translate this word, saying "it just meant 'let me go' or 'don't trouble about me,'" which does not seem at all applicable. He said the word was always repeated three times in a reciprocal greeting between dreamer and dream helper.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

881 The Jimson weed roots were crushed and soaked for some days.
276 When the time for drinking came, the old man took the basket of liquid and said:

[539] Drink this water for Tüüsiut;
Drink this water for that Pamasiut;
Drink this water for that Yuhahait.

Twice he moved the basket toward the novice; the third time he held it toward the novice's mouth. When all the boys had drunk, they were taken away from the village, to places where they would be undisturbed, by older men who watched over them. The boys seem to have slept off their intoxication outdoors; as an open-air affair, the ceremony was made during the dry season, apparently in spring.

The participants underwent the rite for their own good. The Jimson weed would give them health, long life, ability to dodge arrows in battle, and general prosperity.

If a boy vomited his dose of drug, it was taken as a sign that he would die, and his relatives paid the old master of ceremonies for praying to avert this threatening fate.

184 Such was the ritual among the southern Yokuts. The Dumna,
881 among whom the participants were men, practiced it somewhat dif-
276 ferently. The roots were shaved instead of pounded. The master of ceremonies is mentioned not as having prayed, but as singing, before giving the liquid. The drinking took place in the sweat house and was followed, before the intoxication took effect, by a brief dance of the participants. Men would experience or obtain [787] what they saw in their visions; the sight of beads would make the dreamer wealthy.

THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY.

796 Other public ceremonials of the Yokuts were in the hands of medi-
756 cine men. They were not performed by participants following an anciently established ritual learned from preceding generations, nor by initiates into an esoteric cult or priesthood, but by shamans who, in their own persons, held communication with the source of the supernatural. The ceremonies were in essence a demonstration of the *tipni*, the magic power, possessed by these men—sometimes for the public good, at others merely as exhibitions.

The most spectacular of these shaman's performances was a rattlesnake ceremony, somewhat suggesting the famous snake dance of the Arizona Hopi. The Yokuts called this institution, according to dialect, *Daidangich*, *Datela*, or *Datlawash*, namely, "stepping on."

[787] Early in spring, before the snakes had come out, the *tüüdum* or men to whom a rattlesnake had spoken in their dreams, executed

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796 in a small hole outdoors. The people come with sticks from which
756 hang crude imitations of shell money; the chiefs' prerogative is to bear poles of such length that they can be made only by splicing. Everyone professes a strong wish to prod the snakes in the pit. The shamans feel equal alarm for the safety of their darlings, and purchase the lives of them by paying each man the equivalent in real money of the length of bark or rag on his stick.

Finally the entire community files past the hole, each man, woman, or child placing the right foot into or over it. This insures that for a year every approached snake will rattle in warning instead of striking blindly; and with this act the ceremony ends.

A rattlesnake ceremony song:

[539]

The king snake said to the rattlesnake:
Do not touch me!
You can do nothing with me.
Lying with your belly full,
Rattlesnake of the rock pile,
Do not touch me!
There is nothing you can do,
You rattlesnake with your belly full,
Lying where the ground-squirrel holes are thick.
Do not touch me!
What can you do to me?
Rattlesnake in the tree clump,
Stretched in the shade,
You can do nothing;
Do not touch me!
Rattlesnake of the plains,
You whose white eye
The sun shines on,
Do not touch me!

The implied idea probably is that the repetition of the words used by the king snake when he successfully defied and evaded his venomous opponent will bring about a recurrence of his safety for the human being who in his turn encounters a rattlesnake.

[184] Such was the Yaudanchi practice, which the Yauelmani, Tachi, and Kashowu approximated. Only the Chukchansi are again un-Yokuts-like and dispense with the ceremony.

OTHER CEREMONIES.

The *Heshwash*, or "hiding" ceremony, is a public intertribal contest of medicine men, who test their superiority in bewitching one another. The shamans dress as for a dance. In the evening they seat themselves in two parties under a shade, while special *heshwash* songs are sung to cocoon rattling and the expectant multitude watches. The performers try to inject their disease objects or "poi-

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hair belt recurs as far to the north as the Shastan tribes. Its distribution is likely to have been continuous over a wide area, but there are reports of its use from only a few points.

The dance rattle was the same cleft stick as prevails over all of central California; likewise, the cocoon implement was associated with the shaman. The deer-hoof rattle of parts of northern California and the turtle shell and gourd instruments of the south were unknown. The flute was the usual tube, blown from the end over its edge; the holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relations of distance. (Pl. 43, *b*.) It was thought to have been invented by the falcon. Drums were not employed by the Yokuts: the foot drum of the Sacramento drainage appears to be part of the dance house. The bull roarer was called *himhimna*, *huhuudech*, or *hmhm'udech*. It was a toy; but whether it had other purpose and potency is not known. (Pl. 44.)

PRAYERS.

Short prayers in fixed form are spoken on a variety of occasions and are evidently a definite element of Yokuts culture.

When there is an eclipse, this is said:

> Leave me a little of the sun!
> Do not devour it altogether from me!
> Leave me a little!

If one wishes to drink of a strange body of water, he says:

> Let us live long in this world!
> This is our water!

The dead are addressed thus by the Tachi:

> You are going to another land.
> You will like that land.
> You shall not stay here.

There is here an expression of the world-wide sentiment that the career of the departed in this world is finished, that the break is final, and that any attempt at return can only be disastrous to the living and is not desired.

As the language knows no exhortative of the second person, nor any form corresponding to our precative "may," these speeches are either in the unvarnished command of the imperative or direct statements in the indicative mode.

One of the most usual Yokuts offerings is tobacco; another, at least among the hill tribes and those of the south, is eagle down.

The ritualistic number of the Yokuts is most often 6, sometimes 12, not infrequently 7; 3 occurs occasionally, but it is not certain whether with any sense of significance. The universal 4 of the north central tribes, and the 5 and 10 of the northwestern Indians appear to be meaningless to the Yokuts.

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out from them, failed to reach the Yokuts. This is clear both from their nonuse of sand paintings and their ignorance of the great deity Chungichnish or any equivalent.

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On the other hand, the Yauelmani, and perhaps other southern Yokuts tribes, appear to have borrowed from the nearer Shoshoneans or southern Californians, probably the Kitanemuk, the concept of a group of gods, apparently anthropomorphic, and associated with ritual rather than myth. Three of these, who have no exact Shoshonean counterpart, have already been mentioned in the Jimson weed rite; but the full number is seven, of whom four correspond in name to the first four among six Serrano deities. As referred to in an intoned prayer, recited not so much for the achievement of any specific wish as for the general fulfillment of good fortune, these deities are the following:

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Do you see me!
See me, Tūūshiut!
See me, Pamashiut!
See me, Yuhahait!
See me, Echepat!
See me, Pitsuriut!
See me, Tsukit!
See me, Ukat!
Do you all help me!
My words are tied in one
With the great mountains,
With the great rocks,
With the great trees,
In one with my body
And my heart.
Do you all help me
With supernatural power,
And you, day,
And you, night!
All of you see me
One with this world!

A certain vastness of conception and profoundness of feeling, rising above any petty concrete desire, can not be denied this petition, crude though the undeveloped vocabulary of its speech leaves its wording.

SHAMANISM.

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The Yokuts shaman is called *antu* or *angtu*—with a reference to poisoning—by the southern tribes; *tuponot* by the Tachi; *teish*, "maker," by the Chukchansi. The latter word reappears in the south as *tesh* and with the Tachi as *teshich gonom* as the designation of the "rain doctors" or weather shamans. *Hopodno*, sometimes

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Shamanistic power among the Yokuts comes both unsought and to men desirous of acquiring it. It is most commonly derived from animals or monsters inhabiting the water, or from their appearances in dreams after their haunts have been frequented; but visits by dead relatives, which are so frequent a stimulus among the northern California tribes, are also mentioned as a source of the conferment. The bear doctor, of course, has bears as his spirit; the rattlesnake shaman, the sun, as with the Yuki. The rain doctor alone has his power associated more directly with an amulet than with any spirit.

The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface. A Yaudanchi, with two boy companions, caught a *wetapkul*, a long, large-eyed fish, which makes doctors by swallowing them. At once a great whirlwind circled, the trees broke, the water rose, and the three persons fled for their lives. That night in his sleep the monster came to the young man and gave him this song:

Whose is this fish to shoot?
Your hand feathers are panting!

The hand feathers are the *wockam* dance ornament used by doctors; they seem to symbolize the moving gills of the water monster.

Another southern Yokuts at dusk met two strangers, who took him with them into the stream, through two doors, one formed of a snake, one of a turtle. He had become unconscious. Inside their house the otters, for such they had become, resumed human shape. They offered *tipni* power to their guest, with the threat that he could not live if he refused. He took the gift, but asked for instructions concerning it. "You shall cure the sick, not kill human beings," was the naïve order he received with his song. When the man awoke he was on land once more, and dry as if he had never left the earth. This is his song:

The other says: Run in the brush;
Run in the brush, I hear continually.

Two instances of the genesis of bear doctors:

A Yaudanchi hunter was taken by a grizzly into its hidden house inside the rock, where it drew off its skin and became human. Others joined the circle, and a dance began. Suddenly a dog barked and the dance stopped. The man remained with his hosts several days.

A Tachi bathed at night. At last a bear appeared in his dreams and instructed him. After many years, not before middle life, he reached the power of becoming a bear at will. He swam in a pool, emerged as the animal, and

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went on his errand. To resume human shape a plunge into the same pool was necessary.

The long period of training before full power is attained seems characteristic for Yokuts bear shamans, as for Yuki.

A bear doctor's song:

Again he comes,
Again the grizzly bear comes to me.

A shaman named Mayemai dreamed that his father sang to him:

Listen to me,
Mayemai!
There in the east
I shall emerge
Twirling
My hand feathers.

An eagle dance song, originally dreamed:

The earth quakes.
See my eagle
Emerging at the open place!

Coyote songs, dreamed, and perhaps also of moiety totemic reference:

Whirling in front of you,
It is mourned for,
The rope of our world

I am coyote,
We are coyotes.
The earth told them,
The earth said:
You shall not continually scratch me.

Coyote said:
What am I?
I am coyote.
I am of the water.
What am I?
I am coyote.

The frankness of these songs in allusions to the supernatural experience and mention of the guardian, and that in words which are far less altered to fit the rhythm than is customary in California, is remarkable.

The doctor's initiation dance of northern California has not been referred to among the Yokuts and seems not to have been practiced.

DISEASE AND CURE.

Three principal methods of curing disease are followed, besides the administration of herbs and parts of animals. Sucking the disease object, a pebble or bit of something, is universal. This is linked

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eral Indians working on the ranch as vaqueros. One of them saw the stone when I showed it to the other vaqueros. He told the man who had hung it out what I had done and the next day the owner came to me for it. Our vaquero explained to me that it was *tripne* (supernatural) and why it had been hung in the tree."

The above account was verified by Frank Bequette, another early resident of the same locality, and by numerous other settlers around Tulare, Kern, Buena Vista, Goose and Summit Lakes, as well as the streams which flowed into those bodies of water. But there was little or no printed reference to Yokuts charm-stones. There seemed to be more mystery than information about them.

About 1930 I first interviewed Mrs. Josie Alonzo, of Hanford. Her Indian name was *Yoimut* and she was the last full-blood survivor of the *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) tribe of Yokuts. Yoimut knew much about the Yokuts Rainmaker's charm-stones. Below is a portion of the information she furnished about them.

"I had an uncle named *Teh-nih'-pahs.* He was a real old Indian with long hair with beads in it. He was a *Wowol* (Wo'-wol). I learned his song that went with the *unuk.* He put a little water on the unuk before he sang to make it rain. If he dipped it in the water and then sang and danced, he could bring a flood. He was Tripne. If he had real bad luck he would throw his unuk in the lake, maybe off of boat, maybe from shore.

"The unuk was a long pretty stone. It was round and smooth and had a little head at one end. This is the song he sang with his dance while he held the unuk in one hand:

Toke'-un lih'-nuh	*Wa-tin-hin*	*nah*	*Yo'*
(west side)	(straight path)	(me)	(to mark time)
Hi-yo-um'-ne	*Ah-he*	*oo-nook*	*mi-uh'-wah*
(Wo-wol village)	(this is I)	(charm stone)	(over you)

"He sang this song over and over as he danced. West Side was the name of the song. It meant 'I, the charm stone, am over you, showing you the straight path to Hiyoumne, the old Wowol village'. It had a very pretty tune.

"Lots of Indian Doctors tried to learn this song. They wanted to be Tripne Rain Doctors. They tried to sing it, but never learned it right. I heard them sing lots of times, but I

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He says, "Them Indian Doctor don't want them people to know what he singin'. So he fix he's own word so they don't understand 'em."

This is a wonderful example of the common behavior of all men. Until late historic times did not the legal profession practice in Latin? And until recently did not all doctors of medicine write their prescriptions in latin for the identical reason as did those primitive Yokuts medicine men. Following is the song, together with the interpretation given by Wahumchah:

O, Chochin witche pah
(There is a bird's children)
O, Chochine miah wiche pah
(Oh bird, I want your children)
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochin witche pah
O, Yoe hete ketre ehe dinne
(Poor rattlesnake)
Kiowki nowu utu sudongtow
(I am looking in the tree)
O, Chochine miah witche pah
Yah weah - - - - - - yah!
(Everyone hear me).

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159 she got out the fine baskets she had made to burn, and all of
769 father's things she had saved. Then she was ready for the Lonewis.

If some man lost a wife they fixed some clothes like a woman and burned it. If they lost a little boy or a girl they dressed it up like a boy or girl. For a baby they fixed it on a baby cradle and burned it. In the old days they made these people to burn out of tules and dressed them with beads and a man's breech clout or woman's skirt.

159 The morning of the second day the Teah sent his *Win-*
769 *at'-un* (messenger) to tell all the people to come together. He
624 talked to them for a long time. Then the people from each tribe talked. They told about their dead people that they had been crying for. They told who they were and when they died. They told about how good the dead persons had been. By that time it was afternoon. They ate acorn mush and talked until about four o'clock. Then they all went back to their own shades and sat down.

Soon the Winatun came around to tell them to build their fires and get ready for the dancing and singing. He walked around the camp yelling this so everyone could hear. Then they all got ready. They built fires and got ready to dance all night.

The Winatun built a big fire in the middle of all the fires. It was made of dry oak and burned until the Lonewis was over. It was about twenty feet across. Some of the people carried wood for it almost all of the time.

159 At sundown everybody was ready. Nobody talked. Every-
769 thing was quiet. When we could just see *Ne'-waw Chi'-tus*.
[152] [the evening star], Tepwuhtra, the Teah, stood up in front of his fire. We all watched him. He called in a loud voice, "*He'-ahm tahn'-hin* [we are ready]." In a little while everyone was crying. Then they began to dance.

Most of the people danced around their own fires. Some danced around the fireplace for a while. They were singing to the big fire where they were going to burn their baskets and things. Then they went back to their own fires.

Most of the people sat close around their own fires and cried. They would rock back and forth and cry for awhile. Then they would sing. After awhile they would get up and dance and some of the others would sit down and cry and sing.
[539] This was one of the songs they sang:

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[539]

Ah-hah-now'-uh	*We-ah'-hah*
Ah-hah-now'-uh	*We-ah'-ah-hah*
	(We are crying)
Wuk'-e le'-o	*We-ah'-ah-hah*
(We cry again)	(We are crying)
Ah-hah-now'-uh	*We-ah'-ah-hah*

When the song was done they all clapped their hands together and pointed at each other in time with each other.

They had men to lead the singing. All the people sang together. The lead singers were called *Ah-ha'-nitch*. We paid them to sing. There were about six at my father's Lonewis. They were painted black on their face, and stomach, too. They had white spots on their face and white stripes across their stomach. [533] [302]

All of the time until the Lonewis was over, all day and all night, some one was singing, someone was crying, someone was dancing.

The second night the *Hohuno* (Ho-hoo'-no) danced. This was the first night the big fire was lit. Hohuno was dressed in a long pretty blue dress that covered his head and reached to the ground. The Winatun dressed him. We children were all afraid of him. His Indian name was *Huyupah* (Hoo-yoo'-pah).

The part of the dress that went over Honuno's head was made of the smooth skin and feathers from a fish crane. It fitted close to his head and was so smooth not a feather was out of place, except two feather horns on each side like a horned owl. On the front were fastened two large round pieces of abalone shell for eyes. They were just above his eyes. He had peek-holes right under them. When he came close to us he would lean over and look at us with those big eyes and we would almost die. 159 769 292 237

From the shoulder down the dress was loose. Long, blue wing feathers from fish cranes were fastened to a loose skirt of strings. These feathers could swing loose as Hohuno danced. They were fastened about the middle so they would fly around like birds when he danced.

On his back, fastened across his shoulders, was a stick. About ten short pieces of bamboo hung loose from the stick. The pieces of bamboo were the size of a pencil, maybe a little bigger. When he danced, Hohuno would jerk his shoulders and make the bamboo sticks rattle together. 159 769 293

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The *Winatun* made the fires for the doctors. They made seven fires, three in a row on each side and one in the middle. They then went to tell the Teah that everything was ready. Everyone could see this from their camp fires.

Then the Teah called, *"He'-ahn tahn'-hin."* The doctors came out in pairs and went to their fires. An Ahntru Doctor went to the middle fire. He came from the Teah camp. All were dressed in their feather skirts and feather headdress. All were painted and had their magic things along. Each one had *Chapet* (Chap'-peet), the Tripne flat basket tray.

Near the middle fire was a high pole set in the ground. It was as high as a house. On it were tied baskets, strings of beads and other rich things. They were for the dead people. Each doctor would sing his song and shake his rattle. Then he would swing his Chapet in the air and put it over first one shoulder and then the other while he was singing. Then he would slap it on the ground quickly. It made a loud noise. Some of the doctors could make some of the baskets fall from the pole with this noise. Only the Tripne Doctors could do this.

They sang this song:

Ha-lahl'-mo hah'-hah hah'-hah

(Repeated four times.)

While they sang they danced to the center fire, stamping the ground with the same foot together and slapping the Chapets over their shoulders and against their sides.

The sun is just going down. They hold the Chapets up to the sun edgeways. Then they turn and dance back to their fires. One of the doctors slaps the Chapet on the ground and picks up something to shoot from his Chapet. Some get an arrow point, some a rock, some a bullet or something he can throw hard. He rubs it around the edge of his Chapet to make it Tripne.

They do not sing or talk while they do this. Everybody keeps quiet. They pass the Chapet around them at the waist and walk around their fire getting ready to fight. Then one slaps his Chapet on the ground and shoots at another doctor. Maybe the doctor falls down or he sits down. If he falls down he is dead [unconscious] and the Winatuns pick him up and carry him to his camp and he is done. He does not fight anymore. [He revives and watches the rest of the exhibition].

While the doctors were fighting, *Cuksa* (Cook'-sa) played around them. The Teah told him when to go in. The Winatun

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159 769 dressed Cuksa. He wore an Ahntru headdress and skirt. In one hand he carried *trah-waht'-will*, the rattle, or clapper.

756 Cuksa sang and went around among the people. He made lots of fun doing like the Tripne Doctors did. At last the doctors began shooting at him. He fell down and his people carried him back to his camp. The doctors doctored him and he finally came alive again. The people gave him some money. He was only to make fun.

[234] The middle doctor shot at those at the ends. When he killed one, the Winatun took him to the other side and the doctors there doctored him. If he was not hit bad they took [755] it out, an arrow point, acorn, rock or something. [these objects were introduced by sleight-of-hand] Then he went back to fight. If he was hit bad they took him to his camp.

There were a lot of helpers called *Chamum Maets* (Chah'-mum ma'-ets). They walked around those fighting. They yelled and disturbed the other side. Each doctor had his own Chamum Maets. They had to pay these helpers.

[237] The middle doctor spread *saw-nil* [eagle down] around him on the ground where the other doctors had been shooting at him. Then he brushed it up. The sawnil is Tripne and he took out of it [by sleight-of-hand] the things the other doctors had been shooting at him.

The fight was kept up until only one doctor was left. The outside people all paid the doctors while they were fighting, even after they had been hit. They gave them beads or arrows for pay. The doctors made lots of money that way. I saw all of this twice, once at *Sulawlahne* at the "Fish" Rice Ranch, south of Farmersville and once at Tule River Reservation.

159 769 The fourth night was when we came out with the clothes stuffed like the dead people. About midnight they were brought out and carried around and pointed at the big fire for two or three hours. All of the time everyone was singing

● [539]

Ah-hah'-nah
(We sing)
Yoo'-e uh'-la
(You are going to burn)
We-ah'-ah hah
(We are crying)
(Repeated indefinitely)

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would sing and laugh and dance for me. Before she finished the song I would be laughing. It went like this:

Po'kook ..	*Yo-patch'-noo* ..	*Tah'-eh nek'-tah* [539]
(ground owl call)	(as of old)	(I have a flat head)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Ma-wih'-sin*	*Pih-tre'-no*
(as of old)	(I cut with fire)	(my bangs)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Teh'hiks*	*Nahm*
(as of old)	(my leg hurts)	(me)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Too-lo'-lool*	*Nim o'-tro*
(as of old)	(I burn or cut)	(my hair)

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A long time ago the Indians found out all about Tihpiknits Pahn. That is what they say. That is what I heard. I will tell you all about it.

A very good couple lived in an old Wowol Indian village. They were both good people. They were honest and they were good to each other. One day the wife died. The husband was overcome with grief. So were his parents-in-law.

After the wife was buried the husband would not leave her grave for a minute. He stayed there day and night for two days and three nights. Early on the third night the husband heard a noise in the grave. He listened and watched very closely. Finally he saw his wife come up out of the grave.

The husband kept very quiet. He saw his wife shake the earth from her clothes. She shook the earth from her hair and carefully put it back in place. She rearranged all of her clothes and rubbed her hands over her face. Then she looked in all directions. Soon she started toward the north.

Following quietly, the husband soon saw that the wife knew he was behind. She finally turned and told him to go on back to his people and stay there, that she was going to Tihpiknits Pahn to stay. But the husband did not want to go back. He wanted to be with his wife. So he followed her on.

At daylight the wife turned into a rotten log and the husband watched until dusk. He had to keep awake all of the time. At dusk the wife became her natural self and went on her way to the north.

The third night, when the wife became her proper form she again spoke to her husband. She told him that she must go a long way to the north and that he could not follow her, that there was a dangerous bridge to cross and that he would fall into the water. Besides, she told him, he was alive and would

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moved them from our shoulders down at each step. We stepped to the left. After we got tired we just dragged one foot and then the other. Some carried little baskets of beads and threw them on the ground as they danced. We danced around and around in the same place all of the time and made a deep ditch in the ground. It was a new dance to us. It was different from the *Lonewis* (Lo-nee'-wis) dance.

About six or seven *Ahanich* (Ah-ha'-nitch) [professional singers] led the singing. The Indian doctors wore skirts and feather hats and danced around with the rest of us. The main song that they sang went like this:

Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
(I will be anything)
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah'-nah nahn' een'-ah a - a
[repeat indefinitely]

I do not know all of the words, but they mean something like, "I will be anything, crow, rock, stick, rattlesnake, or anything, if our dead people come back."

All of the time we expected to see our dead people come back. We got tired, but we danced six days and nights. Once a small girl did not want to dance, but her mother made her dance anyway. After awhile the girl left the circle and went to her mother's camp. She lay down and died. The doctors worked over her for an hour or two and brought her back to life. They got a pine tree top and stood it up on her breast. Then they called all of us girls to watch her. The doctors blew on her forehead and she finally awakened.

The mother asked the girl who had died what she had seen. We thought maybe she had seen some of her dead people. But she said, "Nothing." Then she was all right again. The girl's name was *Ne-he'-ut*. She is still living at Rio Chiquito over near Kern River.

When the dance was almost over, Pleas Work and his brother, and "Club-foot" Guthrie and an Indian named *Ho'-sawm* came and told us that the white people were coming to kill all of us. We were afraid of the white people all of the time, so we all ran away into the timber and mountains. This was before the last night of the dance was over. We left without either our grub or our clothes.

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The people in each village were divided on two sides. They were divided in the family and in the village too. One side played against the other in the games.

One side was called *Tokelewits* (To-q'hell'-e-wits) and the other *Nutuwits* (Noo'-too-wits). The Tokelewits are on the west. At the big meetings they sit on the west. Their person is *Ahl'-wut*, the crow. The Nutuwits are on the east. At the big meetings they sit on the east. Their person is *Ki-yu*, the Coyote. I am a Tokelewits. My father was a Tokelewits. My mother was a Nutuwits. In all of the big games my father would be on my side. My mother would play against us.

When one side won at the Indian games their best players used to go away to play at other villages. Sometimes they went a long distance. My mother told me that players from *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) at Laton came to play where she was born at *Chaw-lo'-win* where Alpaugh is now. They came carrying heavy burden baskets with fish and their game things, shinny-stick, football and other things.

When some players winning for Kiyu, or for Crow, came back to their village they would be carrying the baskets on their backs. The baskets would be empty of food. They would sing as loud as they could when they were a long way off:

A-na' a-na' a-nin'-a kow'-kow.
(sung four times)
A-na'-na.

This song means like, "We won, we are here, we are hungry and we want to eat."

The people in their home village would be so glad they won. They would run out with something to eat and would throw presents in their empty baskets. If they lost, the players would sneak in quietly and go to bed.

My people played a game with bows and arrows and a ring called *waw'-poi-un*. They played on the smooth game ground by the village. They used bows made of elderberry wood and wooden pointed arrows. We called the bow *tah-tip*, and the arrows *tu'-yose*. They were the same used for hunting around camp.

The *Win-at'-un* [messenger for the chief] rolled the ring and the players stood at the side and shot at the ring as it went by. When he rolled the ring the Winatun called, *"He'-ahm tahn'-hin."* He meant, "Are you ready?" or, "Here it comes."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

hands and rolled out on the tiwon. When all flat sides were down they called *keel'-pah.* That counted four points. Two flat sides up counted one point and they called *pawn'-yo.* Three flat sides down were one point. This was called *yeat'-suh.* All flat sides up counted two points and they called *chahl'-ahl.* Two flat sides down or one up lost the dice and the other side took them. As they threw the dice they clapped their hands together and waved them back and forth above the rolling dice to make them come up right and called *e-lake'.*

There was a song that went with the Huchuish game but I have forgotten it. I never did play it much. I was too busy. I had to work too much. Sometimes the games would go two days. They gambled at it. Men never played it.

We children used to play a game at water tag called *Tuewats* (Too'-e-wats). We started out with one person called *Tue* (Too'-e). He had to catch the rest. You had to stay in the water or in a tree over the water. If you stepped on the dry ground you were Tue right away. Tue called, *"Too-yahl'-mum he-ahm,"* meaning "Tag me if you can." As soon as Tue tagged one person that person had to help him catch the rest. It went that way until they all caught the last one.

We children played a coyote game, too. It was like an old story my mother used to tell me. It was called *Hih'-suh Na'-es,* just like the story. The Wowol called it *Hih'-ke. Kiyoo* was "it." He had to sit on the ground. He could not run around. He partway shut his eyes, but it was all right for him to peek. He was supposed to.

The other children would run around and around him and up close to him and then away. They were supposed to touch him if they could. If Kiyoo could reach out quick and catch one of them he had to sit on the ground behind Kiyoo like he was dead and wait until all were caught.

While the game was going on we all sang a little song over and over. It went

Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Wus'-wus.

The old Hihsuh Naes story went like this:

In the old days there were lots of little yellow birds that played in the tules and sunflowers around Tulare Lake. We called them *Taw-tawk'-its.* The white people called them gold-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

539 finch. One of the birds would sit on *pahn*, the ground. He was "it" like in hide-and-go-seek. The others would peck at him.

A'-nis, my Grandfather, used to say that the Tawtawkits birds were playing an old game that was played by the old-time bird and animal *Yo'-kuts* [people] before the Indians came to California. One bird would sit on the ground and close its eyes. The rest would fly close to it. Then *Weutoi* (We'-oo-toi), the bird on the ground, would peck at them. If it pulled out *te-pit'-pil* [feathers], that bird must sit on pahn, the ground, beside it until all the rest of Weutoi, the birds, were caught. Then the game began all over.

Once, in the old days, the Tawtawkits were playing their game and *Ki'-yu*, the Coyote, came along. He said, "What are you people doing?"

The birds answered, "We are playing Hihsuh Naes."

"Let me play that game," said Kiyu.

Kiyu was *he-ow'-trah* [mean] and the birds were afraid to come near him. He shut his eyes only a little way and said, "Come close to me. Come close to my nose. Do not be afraid. I will not hurt you. Come on." Soon Tawtawkits began fluttering about Kiyu's nose. Soon he snapped one from the air and swallowed it. Then he called again to the birds to come closer still.

Again Kiyu caught and ate a Tawtawkits. After the third bird had been eaten, the birds began to talk among themselves. They said, "Where did those other birds go? They are not on the ground beside Kiyu. Kiyu is heowtrah. He must have eaten them." So Tawtawkits would not play with Kiyu any more.

Kiyu still wanted to play, but finally he went on along a trail until he came to *lah'-pah*, the cotton tree. He sat down under lahpah to rest. He saw *top'-top*, the leaf, come fluttering down. Then two more came whirling down. "I can do that," said Kiyu. He climbed up high in the tree and jumped to the ground. He fell on his face and was killed, *Kiyu tow'-it-se* [coyote is dead].

159 533 My people had lots of songs. Once I knew almost all of them. My mother used to sing them. Now I remember only a few. The one I remember best was called *Wih-la'-litch We'-peh*, the lizard song. The little white-grey lizard of *Chaw-law'-win*, the plains, sang this song. *Wihlalitch* was an *Ahn'-troo* Doctor, but he wanted to be *Trip'-ne* [supernatural].

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Wihlalitch sang over and over:

O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
(I am supernatural)
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne

Tim'-tim, the bat, heard Wihlalitch singing. He was jealous because he wanted to be Tripne, too. So he sang back:

O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
Nah-ah'-hah Trip-ih-ne

The song of *Tim-tim*, the bat, meant, "You are not magic. You are of the ground. I am magic. I am of the air."

YOIMUT'S STORY
YOKUTS LAKE LIFE

159
When I was about ten years old my mother married again. 103
Her husband had relatives at *Waiu*, the village where Santa 361
Rosa Rancheria is now near Armona, at the Tejon Ranch, and 587
at Tule River Reservation. My mother did not want to stay at *Soo-law-lahn'-ne* on the "Fish" Rice ranch any longer, so we all went over to Armona.

159
This was while the soldiers were at Visalia and the white 361
people were having a big war. My stepfather's brother had two small horses and a little wagon. He worked for Mr. Rice for two or three years to buy them. He took us to Armona. We all stayed at Armona for about one month.

None of us liked it at Armona then. There were lots of [578]
Tachi there and we knew it was their place and that we did not belong there. So my stepfather and his brother took us to the lake to fish and camp for awhile.

159
We drove to the mouth of Cross Creek. There about six of 166
us, my mother and stepfather, my brother *Weh'-pees*, myself, 361
my stepfather's brother and an Indian who belonged at Armona. We camped at Cross Creek for a week. Then we moved around to the Buzzard's Roost. This was a real old *Chunut* village where my mother had once lived for a few months when she was first married. I am not sure about the [103]
name of this place, but it was either *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne) or *Chuntow* (Choon'-tow). Both places were close together. I think it was Heuumne.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The people who wanted to trade carried their things in baskets on their backs. They had to have their *Teah* (Te'-ah), chief with them. When they came up to trade they marched up in a straight line from each side. The Teah was in front.

When the two parties got close to each other they all took hold of the basket straps at the sides of their heads and swung from side to side, singing:

Ho-hoo'-hoo Yoo-'nah
(sung five times)
Hah-ha'

He-ke'-mah was the name of that song. That was the name of the trade too.

When the song was done each one took his basket down and spread his things on the ground in front of him. The rows of things were about ten feet apart. Then the trade started. The Teahs did all of the talking for their people. They talked to each other and agreed how much each could have. It was all done by rules.

Kahnte told me that his people used to trade off fish, *kots* [obsidian], salt grass salt, and some seeds. Sometimes they traded *kuts* (koots, soapstone) beads. They brought back shell beads and sea shells, *Traw'-neck* [abalone], *Cawm-sool* [clam], and *Caw'-sool* [olivella, or periwinkle]. Kahnte told me about a funny dried thing that one of his men got in a trade. I know now it was a star fish.

In the old days the Indians who lived by the lakes got their drinking water from the lakes. Around the edge of the lakes the water was muddy and hot. The Indian women used to take a basket and wade out into the lakes until the water was about four feet deep. Then they sunk the basket to the bottom upside down. Then they turned the basket over and filled it. The water at the bottom was lots cooler than on top and it tasted lots better, too.

Now Tulare Lake is dry. My old people told me that once it dried up a long time ago. The creeks all dried up too. My people had to go to their friends at the hills. Some of them went up Deep creek. They almost died before they got water about where Farmersville is now.

You ask me, "Will Tulare Lake ever fill up again?" I got only one thing to say. Yes. It will fill up full and everybody living down there will have to go away. I like to see that time myself. [it filled again in 1938]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 115 I am the last full-blood Chunut left. My children are part Spanish. I am the only one who knows the whole Chunut or Wowol language. When I am gone no one will have it. I have to be the last one.

All my life I want back our good old home on Tulare Lake. But I guess I can never have it. I am a very old Chunut [eighty-five years] now and I guess I can never see the old days again.

159 177 Now my daughter and her Mexican husband work in the cotton fields around Tulare and Waukena. Cotton, cotton, cotton, that is all that is left. Chunuts cannot live on cotton. They cannot sing their old songs and tell their old stories where there is nothing but cotton. My children feel foolish when I sing my songs. But I sing anyway:

[533 539]

Toke'-uh lih'-nuh	*Wa'-tin-hin nah yo'*
(west side)	(show me the straight path)

Hi-yo-um'-ne	*a-he*	*oo-nook*	*mi-uh'-wah*
(my home Indian village)	(this is I)	(the charm stone)	(over you)

That is all. [Yoimut died in Hanford in 1933.]

THE END OF THE TRAIL

181 In leaving the topic of Yokuts Indians, which has been presented upon these pages in a rather informal manner, it is perhaps best that a brief summary be made of Indian character itself and of some things which vitally concern those Indians who still survive.

One of the alleged Indian characteristics is that of improvidence. It is claimed that the Indians generally do not look to the future and are not able to carry themselves through from season to season without being in want. How generally true this may have been in primeval days, I have no way of knowing. I do know, however, that those Yokuts Indians who still remained suffered less during the recent depression than many of their white neighbors. Their services were much in demand, they worked almost every day, and commanded the highest wages of all common laborers in their territory. It is not meant that they had the finest automobile in the locality, nor that they lived in the finest house, because they certainly did not. They had no automobile, and they camped under the trees, using tents and brush shelters, but they were comfortable and happy and were well supplied with provisions.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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The following Wukchumni (Y) tale is typical, and shows Eagle's position and power, and Dove as his messenger:[19]

In the old days there was nothing in this world. It was just full of water. The birds and animals were here first. Eagle said: "I'm tired of living over this water, I want a little oak to grow up there in the middle." This happened.

There were also present five varieties of ducks, Haiyano, Hohoda, Wacicina, Teututpoi, and a very little one. They were going to try to get some dirt up from under the water. Eagle sent Dove after some tobacco which he needed to mix with the sand. Dove got it and gave it to the chief. Eagle said to the littlest duck: "Can you go to the bottom and get some sand?" He tied a milkweed string to the duck's foot, and the bird dived into the water. He stayed down all day and half the night. He died without striking the bottom. Eagle pulled him out, and restored him to consciousness. The little duck told his friends that he had not reached the bottom. All the other ducks tried with the same result.

Then Eagle called on Turtle to try. He said he was willing. He went down and remained under the water a whole day and a whole night. He was nearly dead when he came up to the surface. While he was under the water he had barely succeeded in scratching the bottom with his finger tips. Some sand was lodged under his finger nails. Eagle got out this sand.

Eagle, the chief, then rolled the sand and tobacco together and pounded them in a mortar. He took up a handful of the mixture and scattered it toward the south, east, north, and lastly toward the west. As he did so he said: "In twelve days all this water will go down." This happened. All the birds and animals were able to walk about on the ground.

Finally these creatures got tired of just staying about doing nothing. Eagle and Wolf were bored too. Eagle sent Dove to call all the people together. He said: "Go tell these people to come out and listen to what I am going to say."

When Dove went to get Bear he had to run from him as Bear killed every man who came near him. They ran a race to a gap in the hills. Bear said: "You run and I'll catch you." But Dove ran faster and won. Bear agreed to come to the meeting.

At the place where the animals gathered there was a big fire. The chief told his people that they could all live elsewhere and do as they pleased. Some liked the mountains; others could live in the flat. Then he told them what they were to be. He was Eagle and he flew off.

The abrupt close of this tale is atypical. Another Wukchumni informant gave the complete form. But the conclusion of the Bird-animal period in which Eagle was the creator-chief is best exemplified in the following Waksachi-Michahai version:[20]

Sun and fire were now established. Eagle, the chief, gathered all the people around him to listen. He said: "There are going to be human beings here in this world. We are going to be different kinds of people. We will put up one man and one woman in each place. Now these people will die and be burned; their bones will be put in a spring of water. On the second dawn they will rise up and come toward us talking. But after this one rebirth they will never come alive again."

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[19] Told in English by Joe Pohot, 1925.

[20] Told in English by Sam Osborn, 1926.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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The animals all agreed to this. They said they didn't die any way so they had nothing to lose by it.

"Now," said Eagle, "We have to be different kinds of people. We will give them names and tell them where to live. There will be one couple for each kind of tribe."

Then he named over every kind of people and said where they were to live, Michahai, Waksachi, Wukchumni, Choinimni, all. At this time he was just telling how it was going to be. Coyote spoke up and said this plan was all right, and all the others agreed. Then all the birds came and asked what they were going to be. Eagle told them that it would take a long time to get all this done; that they would just have to sit up and wait. Coyote told his nephew to be sure and leave no one out. Eagle then appointed a pair for each tribe. Then he thought it all over to make sure he had not omitted any of the tribes which he intended to create. The remaining animals wanted to know what was to become of them with all these people filling up the world. Eagle said that they would just have to keep on being birds and animals, and that they must fly off as he calls out their names. Then he named each variety telling them where they are to live and what they are to do.

"Eagle is to be chief."

"Dove, you are to be winatum, you are to help chiefs at their ceremonies. And you must help doctors. You must paint them up and put on their hats."

"Owl, any man that wants to be doctor has to follow you; he has to go out in the night. He can't be a doctor until the middle of his life; he will call for you. You will live in hollow trees anywhere. You will eat squirrels, wood rats, and cottontails, but you will go out only at night."

When Eagle had given directions to everybody he said: "Now we can't stay here. We have to go off just like I've been telling you and be birds and animals." All the animals agreed and said the human beings could use them just as they wished to.[21] Eagle again said that the time to go had come, for the rest to go on and he and Coyote would follow. So they all flew or walked off except Eagle, Coyote, and Dog. Coyote was dissatisfied; he wanted to know what he was going to do. He said he wanted to be Eagle and fly off too. Eagle stopped and rebuked him. Then he told Coyote to be Coyote. He said Dog would be his friend, that they would run about together. He added that if Dog didn't like Coyote he could go and live with the new people. Then Eagle said, "I'll be Eagle," and flew away.

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The foregoing myths, or myth fragments, show the chief as an institution of prehistoric antiquity who in human times held his position as successor to Eagle himself. He was an earthly surrogate for Eagle who, in native beliefs, as formulated in religious practices and mythology, was the creator and supreme chief of the world.

[21] For food, skins, etc., and as patrons in the acquisition of supernatural power.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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given by the Wukchumni. Pokoi'ik walked up to Wepis and said, "Do you want to die or do you want to live?" He had been making a practice of doing this, and people had to pay him for fear of losing their lives. He had been preying on these two boys for a long time. When the boys went up to this fandango they had planned to kill Pokoi'ik, who, they knew, would be there. But Pokoi'ik knew about this beforehand as doctors usually did. When the boys were on the way home a weird, invisible object made of hair frightened the horse which the two boys were riding. Pokoi'ik had sent it. The horse reared, fell backwards, and crushed Josie's cousin. He died before the night was over.

Poikoi'ik finally died. Somebody poisoned him.

A typical case of a doctor's death due to intervention in another shaman's plans is that of Poso'o (Bob Tista or Bautista). Poso'o was a good doctor with much power, respected by white people as well as the Indians. He was a Tachi, and spent most of his life at the Lemoore ranchería. Josie Alonzo, who recounted the following story, lived with him for the last several years of his life:

At the Tule reservation was an old Humtinin ("southerner") named Tcehĕmsuk, a Koyeti (Y). He had some supernatural power but was a poisoner as well. He has always been at odds with Sam Garfield, a Wukchumni, who with his family lived at Tule River reservation. Tcehĕmsuk asked one of Sam's boys, Pete, a lad of about twenty-one, to come over to his house to drink some coffee. Pete did not want to go, but at the same time was afraid to refuse. Tcehĕmsuk gave him some cold coffee to drink. The following day Pete developed a bad cold, and complained that he "felt like he was burning up inside." They called a white doctor, but Pete's condition continued to get worse so they sent up to Lemoore for Poso'o. When the latter arrived Pete's neck was swollen up on the outside. Poso'o sang and danced for two nights. He cut and sucked the patient's neck but could extract nothing but blood. While he was doing his diagnostic singing none of his dream helpers spoke to him though he followed his formula perfectly.

One of his songs was:

watĭnihe	tsatsana	añṭawuhun
whose	chicken hawk down	belonging to a doctor

Now Poso'o himself began vomiting blood. Pete kept getting worse and died in a few days. Finding his efforts useless Poso'o returned to Lemoore. Josie in the meantime had been visiting the Pohots (Wukchumni). When she returned she found Poso'o very ill. He kept vomiting blood. He got much worse and went to bed. He knew that Tcehĕmsuk was making him ill. He tried to kill Tcehĕmsuk (from Lemoore) with his supernatural power but his power was gone. He depended on his own power and would get no other doctor to help him. He sang his songs while he lay in bed but nothing came to him. One of his legs became "nothing but wood"; it burned continually; he could not use it. Josie had him taken to the hospital where he died.

"This Tcehĕmsuk was a big doctor, so was his brother. He had poisoned Pete, but it was with his ṭipni (supernatural) power that he kept Poso'o from curing Pete, and finally killed him too."

In the southern part of the San Joaquin valley women doctors occur, though they are relatively rare. The only account of a woman shaman is that of Poi'in, and her son Watisti, told by Frank Manuel,

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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622 754 Motsa is described as a man of exceptional stature. None of his immediate relatives are personally recalled, neither father, mother, brothers, nor sisters, save one old woman whom he called sister but who may have been his cousin. His father was an eminent Tachi chief, and Kanti, another Tachi chief, was his mother's cousin.

Josie first remembers Motsa when he was living at Wallace's ranch near Visalia, though she herself was then at the Lemoore rancheria. An old man, Josquin, was the chief at Wallace's ranch; he was Telamni or Choinuk. While Motsa was there he killed an Indian by putting poison in his shoes. He was paid to do this. The night the man died Motsa came over to the Lemoore rancheria where remnants of the lake tribes were living. The fact that Motsa ran away was considered proof of his guilt; "if he had killed no man he wouldn't have come over here; he'd have stayed down there."

622 754 787 [276] Motsa settled down at the Lemoore rancheria and married Po'oiyuk, a Tachi girl. Thereafter began his dominance over the local group. Motsa had some supernatural power which he obtained in the usual manner. He ate wild tobacco to help his dreams at night. He'd say to his dream, "I want you to give me good luck (or money)." His dream helper told him what his luck would be. He also made use of jimsonweed: he drank a little of it frequently, and always carried a small bit of the root of the plant wrapped up in beads. When he wanted to make himself invisible in order to go about eavesdropping or to place poison on people's clothes he took out his jimsonweed talisman and held it in his hand. Nobody could see him then.

He had a coyote assistant just like a doctor. He had a coyote song which he is said to have learned from a Wukchumni doctor. If Motsa wanted to dream this song he would sing it before he went to bed:

[539]

notci	notci	hatimha	na
friend	friend	dance	I

wiwaohok	sonloni
waving	bunch of feathers held in hand

mĭnimon	kiollĭn	notci
coming (I)	meeting (you)	friend

tahan	maiya	we	yonina
going	we	?	rainbow

"I'm going to take you up north to the rainbow."

Then Coyote would appear at Motsa's house. He spoke to Motsa.

"You want to go somewhere?"

"Yes." Motsa might be going to meet some doctor friend up in the foothills.

"Well, shut your eyes," Coyote would reply. Then Motsa would get on the coyote's back and wrap his arms around the animal's neck. They would fly off to the place designated. Coyote waited outside during the conference until his passenger was ready to return. The fact that Motsa belonged to the Tokeluwic moiety did not matter as Coyote would help anyone with enough power regardless of their lineage.

If people looked outside their houses at night and saw a coyote they knew that Motsa was about.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

and keen, little, basilisk eyes, stepped forth into the quadrangle and began to walk slowly to and fro around its three sides, making the opening proclamation. He spoke in extremely short, jerky sentences, with much repetition, substantially as follows:

"Make ready for the mourning. Let all make ready. Everybody make ready. Prepare your offerings. Your offerings to the dead. Have them all ready. Show them to the mourners. Let them see your sympathy. The mourning comes on. It hastens. Everybody make ready."

He continued in this manner for about twenty minutes, then ceased and entered his booth; after which silence, funereal and profound, again brooded over the encampment. By this proclamation he had formally opened the proceedings, and he took no further part in them, except in a short speech of condolence. By this time the Indians had collected in considerable numbers on the embankment, and they kept slowly coming forward until the circle was nearly completed, and the fire was only visible shooting up above their heads. A low hum of conversation began to buzz around it, as of slowly awakening activity. The slow piston-rod of aboriginal dignity was beginning to ply; the clatter and whizzing of the machinery were swelling gradually up. No women had yet come out, for they took no part in the earlier proceedings. It was now quite ten o'clock, and we were getting impatient.

Presently the herald, a short, stout Indian, with a most voluble tongue, came out into the quadrangle with a very long staff in his hand, and paced slowly up and down the lines of booths, proclaiming:

"Prepare for the dance. Let all make ready. We are all friends. We are all one people. We were a great tribe once. We are little now. All our hearts are as one. We have one heart. Make ready your offerings. The women have the most money. The women have the most offerings. They give the most. Get ready the tobacco. Let us chew the tobacco."

This man spoke with an extraordinary amount of repetition. For instance, he would say: "The women—the women—the women—have the most—have the most—the most money—have the most money—the

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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women—the women—have the most offerings—the most offerings—give the most—give the most—the women—the women—give the most."

He spoke fully as long as Sloknich had done, and while he was speaking they were preparing a decoction of Indian tobacco by the fire. When he ceased he took his place in the circle, and all of them now began to sip and taste the tobacco, which seemed to be intended as a kind of mortification of the flesh. Sitting along on the embankment, while the nauseous mess was passing around in a basket, and others were tasting the boiled leaves, they sought to mitigate the bitter dose with jokes and laughter. One said, "Did you ever see the women gather tobacco for themselves?" This was intended as a jest, for no woman ever touches the weed, but nobody laughed at it. As the powerful emetic began to work out its inevitable effect, one Indian after another arose from the circle and passed slowly and silently out into the outer darkness, whence there presently came up to our ears certain doleful and portentous sounds, painfully familiar to people who have been at sea. After all the Indians in the circle, except a few tough stomachs, had issued forth into the darkness and returned to their places, about eleven o'clock, the herald went around as before, making a third proclamation:

769 276

769 [539]

"Let all mourn and weep. O, weep for the dead. Think of the dead body lying in the grave. We shall all die soon. We were a great people once. We are weak and little now. Be sorrowful in your hearts. O, let sorrow melt your hearts. Let your tears flow fast. We are all one people. We are all friends. All our hearts are one heart."

For the last hour or so the mourners and their more intimate friends and sympathizers, mostly women, had been collecting in Kolomusnim's quarter, close behind the circle, and preparing their offerings. Occasionally a long, solitary wail came up, trembling on the cold night-wind. At the close of the third proclamation they began a death-dance, and the mourners crowded promiscuously in a great, open booth, and held aloft in their hands or on their heads, as they danced, the articles they intended to offer to the memory of the departed. It was a splendid exhibition of barbaric gewgaws. Glittering necklaces of *Haliotis* and other rare marine shells; bits of American tapestry; baskets of the finest workmanship, on which they

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8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1907
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Chunut
Choinck

WO 'LABI. 197*

Pronouns found are na, mą, mak, nim, min, amin. 193
The demonstrative ta appears as ta-n, him, ta-in, his. 192
Who? is wat-uk; where? hiye-uk or hiyȯku.
The imperative usually ends in -k, sometimes in ka or ke.

CHOINOK.

Demonstratives:
ki, this; ka, that; hiy-uk, where?

Verbs:
xat-ka, ukun-ka, woi-ka, tui-ka.
taut-a-k, teowo-k.
got-on, strike.
gon-in-hin, fall.
san-san-wi-ẹite, tree-squirrel.

TEXTS IN VARIOUS DIALECTS. 539● 197*

The following short texts have three sources. Numbers 1 to 27 are all transcriptions of phonographic records of songs obtained from Peter Christman, the principal Yaudanchi informant employed. Many of the songs were said by him to be in Yauelmani, Tachi, and other dialects. How far they may be mixed with Yaudanchi forms, or translated into the latter, is in many cases not certain; so that they can be used as material for a comparative study of dialects only with reservations. [126 115] Numbers 28 to 35 were obtained from an old man called Chalola, by birth half Wowol, but speaking the Yauelmani dialect. The first five of these, numbers 28 to 32, are songs from a myth, and were recorded without the aid of a phonograph; the last three, numbers 33 to 35, are prayers or ceremonial speeches. [115] All the material from this informant is good Yauelmani. Lastly, numbers 36 to 38, three short ceremonial speeches, are Tachi, obtained from a Tachi informant named Tom. [115] The transcription and translation of the texts resemble those of the Yaudanchi texts. Translations in parentheses are given on the authority of the informant.

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Yaudanchi

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1. Mourning-ceremony song.

yèwò yèwò
ahanè

2. The same.

yò waxăle
ahanè

3. The same. Last song of the ceremony.

yŏuyahè
wiăhè

Ah is Yaudanchi for crying in mourning, waxil in other dialects; yŏuyahè is said to be from yuy, to thrust or motion toward, as during this song the dancers motion toward the fire; wiăhè is said to be from the stem wi, to say.

4. Ohowish ceremony song. Wükehamni.

wita	t'öpük	yo	nahaate
said	beaver	and	otter

wita	tañ	wo	ohòwite-u	t'uiju	ma-nan
said	him		ohowish-medicine-man	shot	you me

ama	ohòwite	maya	ma-nan	t'uiju
them	ohowish-medicine-man	self	you me	shot

5. Rattlesnake ceremony song.

wita	tan	goloñkil	t·öödl
told	him	king-snake	to-rattlesnake

am-nan	pitciu[1]
not me	touch

a-ma	haa	hawad'i
not you	anything	can-do

dok'ou	teixac
belly-full	(lie)

doxmadhin	t·öödl
(rock-pile)	rattlesnake

am-nan	pitciu
not me	touch

wita	a-ma	haa	hawad'i
said	not you	anything	can-do

tiñelhan	ma	t·öödl
squirrel-hole-many	you	rattlesnake

[1] Handle, catch, take, stop.

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dok'on	teixae-ma	
belly-full	(like) you	
am-nan	piteiu	
not me	touch	
ma	ti-nan	haudihi
you	(what) me	can-do!
yapkanhin	t·ōōd	
many-trees	rattlesnake	
te'ineu	teixae	
shade	(like)	
a-ma	haa	hawad'i
not you	anything	can-do
am-nan	piteiu	
not me	touch	
am-nan	piteiu	
not me	touch	
te'odwonhin	t·ōōd	
plains	rattlesnake	
te'ododin	ma	enea
white	you	eye
opodnid	min	
sun-shines-on	your	
am-nan	pitein	
not me	touch	

The language is Yaudanchi. Several interesting forms occur. Opodnid is perhaps the continuative of an intransitive derivative from the word sun: opodo, -in, -ad. The collectives in -hin and -han have not been found otherwise in Yaudanchi, but recall the inanimate collective -hal of Yauelmani. The informant once said tiñel-hal for tiñel-han. The latter he translated "squirrel town." In addition to the forms given in the song, namely, yapkan-hin from yapkin, hud doxmad-hin and te'odwon-hin, he also used the word bokdo-hin, "where many springs." As spring is bokid, the ending -hin is in this word added to the locative suffix. None of the nouns in question are capable of taking an ordinary plural. The forms -hin and -han have some appearance of being possessives. 193 539

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6. Dancing song, said to be in archaic Chunut dialect.

wèhè yōhō
wehe yoho

na kiitcau hoyoji p'ana
I named earth

kalagwiw
(invisible)

widāta not'
meat

walan-iho
yesterday

7. An old dancing song of the Tachi Indians.

hanuk-u teipin-ĕwe
who knows

yèha
yeha

xomòt-i māy-a tān-iyo
south we go

yèha
yeha

pinłt'iux na teay-e
oak I down-feather

Teipin, Yaudanchi t-ipni, is wonderful, supernatural.

8. Said to be a Tachi song.

xami xami wuala kò na
(sound) (sound) stand (this) I

nan ki ma panahin teipai
me (this) you (arrive) supernatural-power

nāyu
sayu

9. Said to be a Tachi song.

wèhè yoho
wehe yoho

nan-a go ma ha wiihin
me you (do not mind)

ĕkak tcan-a witcĕpa
see (that-distant) child

539 A very barbarous Tachi. Ekak is the Yaudanchi stem ĕka, not found in the Valley dialects, with the imperative ending -ka

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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or -k found only in the Valley dialects. Child in Tachi is not witcep but witep. Tcan-a seems to be similarly formed, by substitution of te for t, from tan, Yaudanchi tañ, objective of ta, that.

10. A medicine man's song for dancing. He dreamed that his father said to him:

lanaka nan-a
listen to-me

mayèmai
(name of the composer of the song)

notu na keu
east I there

teicin-è wèhè
shall-emerge who

wè mukulau
we (turning)

hi sonolo wèhè
hi hand-feather-ornament who

11. From the informant's grandfather.

yò-nono pana
again (pursues)

pĭwaca nan yo-nona pana
grizzly-bear me again (pursues)

For piwaca compare the Tachi form biwaca and Tulamni biawas. For pana compare song 8.

12. Dreamed by a man the night after he had seen a water monster.

watin xe t'uit'ai dupit·
whose this shoot duh!

wi xi min ta watcam ahādlad
well, this your that feather-hand-ornament is-pointing

13. Grizzly-bear-doctor's song, learned from the bears by the informant's father-in-law.

mèedjin xolònon
(name of great thing)

teuyuak ma ha tala taaji
(even if you enter)

yakiuhaaliu
at the rocks

tā-na-mam otokotooji
that I you (rules)

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539 197 Yakiuhaaliu is the locative of the collective -hal, which has so far been found only in Yauelmani, suffixed to the Yaudanchi stem yakau, rock, for which Yauelmani uses silil. The l in this and other words points to a Valley dialect.

14. Eagle song, for dancing. Dreamed by the informant's grandfather. Clearly a Valley dialect.

533 539 192

yileyalè
earthquake

silika — uim — teieau
see — my — emergence-at

walāliu — teoxil-a — māyu
at-open-place — eagle

15. Dancing song. The informant's grandmother dreamed that she learned it from a coyote.

mam — wiliteyau — muynkun
you — (in-front-of) — whirl

yèhā
pole

nyayet — ke — teikèya — māyin — p'aanin
(means-for) — that — string — our — world's

Said to be Yauelmani; and in fact teikei, string, and ke, that, are Yauelmani but not Yaudanchi forms. Cf. l in wiliteyau.

16. Coyote song. For dancing.

na — kalu
I — coyote

naan — kalu
we — coyotes

anan — p'an — widji — taeki
then — earth — told — these

ama — p'an — widji
then — earth — told

n-ma-nan-hi — k'uyak'tad
not you me will — scratch

17. Coyote song. For dancing.

kaliu-na — yawud
coyote I — (do-thus)

ama — na — t-ipiuit — lòlènae
then — I — from-above — (twisted)

kaliu-na — yaud
coyote-I — (do-thus)

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18. Coyote song. For dancing.

kaliu	wita	
coyote	said	
hanham-na	kaiiu-na	
what-am I?	coyote I	
wi	idkau-un	na
well,	water-in	I
hanham-na		
what-am I?		
kaiiu-na		
coyote I		

This song is said to be from the Kings River or Northern Yokuts.

19. Coyote song. For dancing. The deer says:

xeu	nan	t'ui	cik'an-nim	
here	me	shoot	side-in my	
kaiyuwin	mam	ta	t'uyoe	
coyote's	you	that	arrow	

20. Dancing song; about the deer.

wat-a	nan
who	me
t'uyou	
shoots!	
t·ipinit	
from above	
t'uyou	
shoots!	
ybiteai	
came	
t'uyou	
shoots!	
wèhèn	
wahan	

21. Dancing song about the deer.

xuyiu	naan	
return	we	
nètu	naau	xuyiu
east	we	return
tahitcipau		
to-Tehachapi		
p'annin		
land's		

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533 22. Mountain-sheep song.

539 'hiyeu-na ukunumū

192 or: hideu-na ukun
where I drink-will

wa na dòmto ukun
far I mountain-at drink-will

23. Ground-squirrel song. When the ground-squirrel, pohad, eats buckeyes, it becomes crazy.

ama wateimji oteote t·ipin
Thou swung-in-his-hand magpie high

muyukju
whirled

wateimin oteoteo
swinging-in-his-hand magpie

[301] Wateam is a feather ornament held in the hand, wateim is to hold or move it; oteote, magpie, appears to mean magpie feathers.

24. Road-runner's song. Yauelmani or a Valley dialect. The Yaudanchi equivalent words as given by the informant are added.

oynoyu nun he
oyuy nun xe
road-runner me here

limini mai
dawit-sa mak
let-run me-two

hium-ā na teokonit
hium na teokit
now I am-hit

teokunau nim
teoxhau nim
feather-belt-in my

25. Otter song. Yaudanchi.

nahnit· hāhi dawit yaudau
otter (said): "run in-brush!"

dahaud-na yaudau dawit
hear I: "in-brush run!"

26. Water's song. Dreamed by a female relative, of his grandfather's generation, of the informant. The present version is in Yaudanchi. The original song is said to have been in the

8:Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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Yokol dialect. In this the first line ran: yo ki-mi-nana taxenen, and the last: tolomit na ilekin. 533 539 192

yo	ti-ma	taxin
again	do you	come!

wa	ha	mai	kitewin
far	something	we	will-go

wa	na	kitiu
far	I	go

todomit	na	idkiu
do-not-find	I	water's

27. Pleiades song. Dreamed by a relative of the informant's father.

guyèpa	nana	guyèpa
(spin-around	we	spin-around)

hāini	hamāna
(fly	what-we!)

mòxumxai
(Pleiades)

Said to be in Paleuyami dialect.

28. Song from a myth about the prairie-falcon.

xoiyu	nan
return	to-me! (wo!)

xoiyu	nan
return	thief

ama	nim	hūwut·
then	my	gambling

t·awe	nau
beat	me

dokoi-nim
game my

29. Another.

hiwèti	go
yo na	again I
hiwèti	go
nauntayo	
lauīyo	
hilulèkiyo	
t·awat·e	beat

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533 30. Another.

539 yahĭ lulumai
192 yahĭmai lulûmai
sawawa kanama
tanĭyo
yapĭwipĭwimai
tawana tsiniyo
hilalĭkiyo
t-awat-i t-awat-

31. Another.

hila ma tā	you
hayâwiyu	(ridicule)
lòkoyowani	(ignorant)
wnatin	whose
humuyu hile	

32. Another.

hòsĭmi	cold
hòsĭwimine	cold
wanit wilima	from-far (?)
lanā-na-ma	hear
hòsĭmi	cold

782 788 796 33. A prayer for good fortune. Yauelmani. Evidently a fixed formula. Spoken rapidly, rhythmically, and monotonously, with motions of the arms, alternately and together, to the heart and out again. Seven deities are addressed. The impure vowels found in the names of these deities do not occur in Yauelmani. The r occurring in pitsuriut is not a Yokuts sound at all.

782	silkawil	nan
	see-ye	me
192	silka-nan	tŏweiut
	see me	name (= maker)
539	silka-nan	bamāciut
	see me	name
	silka-nan	yoxâxait
	see me	name (= creator)
	silka-nan	etcèpat
	see me	name

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silka-nan pitserint
one two name

silka-nan tsukit
one two name

silka-nan ukat
one two name (locket)

yèt·a man amlin nan
together ye help me

nim yèt·an t·ikexo texal
my together is-tied talk

maiayin lomto
with-the-large mountain

maiayin silelhaliu
with-the-large rocks

maiayin witsetaliu
with-the-large trees (woods)

yèt·an polut-nim
together body my

tcuk-nim
heart my

yèt·an-ma-nan amalan
together ye me help

t·èpani
supernatural

yò-ma
and you

daak
day

yò-ma
and you

toino
night

yet·a-man
together ye

man-illèxo
me one

yò
and

yet·an ki
together this

p'nan
world

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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34. Prayer to the panther for success in hunting deer. Yauelmani. Down and knayin seeds are deposited on the ground during the prayer.

ya wehèsit	ya, panther
wṑkitska-nan t-iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
hanaa	hunter
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
wṑkitska-nan t-iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
hanaa	hunter

35. Speech made by the old man in charge of the tanyuwin, the jimson-weed ceremony, to the noviers. With each phrase he motions with the basket of liquid as if to give it. After the third phrase he hands the basket. Yauelmani dialect.

ukunka	kin	ilka	tṑwayutin	
drink	this	water	for-Tūnihlut	
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	hamasyutin
drink	this	water	for-that	Hamashlut
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	yuxaxaitin
drink	this	water	for-that	Yuhhahhait

36. Tachi formula spoken when one comes to strange water. When this formula is said, the beings in the water allow one to take of it.

mak	heham	xoin	hiamu	pāna
we	here	live	long	world
hehi	makin	ilik		
this	our	water		

37. Tachi formula, sung, accompanied by dancing, by an old woman at an eclipse of the sun.

heweitka-nan	mitèni	opòni	
leave me	with-a-little	sun	
anè nan	yòt·au	teomoot'k (or teom'k)	
(not) for-me	altogether	out-it	
heweit nan	mitèni		
leave me	with-a-little		

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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38. Tachi formula spoken to the dead, to prevent their return as ghosts. 775 192 539

miin	ma	ὸyin	lakil	p'aana
	you	go	(another)	land

huyetoim	tan	p'aan
(like)	that	land

ohom	ma	heha	xoyi
not	you	here	live

STATUS OF YOKUTS AMONG THE LANGUAGES OF CALIFORNIA.

From what has been said, most fully of Yaudanchi, it appears that Yokuts forms one of a group of linguistic families occupying the greater part of the state of California, especially its central region. This group of families, which has been defined in a general discussion of the types of structure of the languages of California,[1] is marked by simple phonetics, the lack of incorporation, the presence of cases, and a simple transparent structure, and in addition to Yokuts includes Costanoan, Esselen, Maidu, Wintun, Yuki, Pomo, and perhaps other languages, besides showing certain general resemblance of type to Shoshonean, Lutuami, and Sahaptin. In certain respects Miwok or Moquelumnan, bordering Yokuts on the north, seems also to belong to this type. Chumash and Salinan, however, which are territorially in contact with Yokuts, occupying the adjacent coast, belong to another group, the Southwestern, which comprises only these two families and is marked by disagreement from the large Central Californian group in all the points that have been mentioned as typical of this.[2] The characteristics that probably distinguish the morphology of Yokuts most sharply from that of the other linguistic families belonging to the same Central group, are its development of systems of vocalic mutation as an 197*

[1] R. B. Dixon and A. L. Kroeber, The Native Languages of California, American Anthropologist, n. s. V, 1, 1903. The families in one group are not etymologically or genetically related, but are structurally similar.

[2] Ibid., and Languages of the Coast of California South of San Francisco, p. 48 of this volume.

melodies nor the words. This suggests that most of the later recordings were of songs which were made up or received subsequent to the 1903 recordings. There was a very close correspondence between the 1940 and the 1937 recordings, perhaps largely because Josie Atwell was present at both sessions. 115 533

The problem of how fast music is made up and forgotten in different groups is a complicated one, contingent upon attitudes toward music and other features of culture. There has recently been a development in California Indian music which roughly parallels southeastern United States ballad singing. In both areas singers are becoming self-conscious about the music, and there is a great deal of eclecticism and virtuosity in the performance of the songs. A few Indians, usually doctors, make a deliberate effort to learn "old-time songs" and try to identify with traditional Indian cultures. As to why there was no correspondence between the 1903 recordings and the 1940 recordings, Professor Kroeber has suggested that the songs may have been brought in from outside the Tachi area. Indeed, many are in dialects other than that of Tachi. 182 533 [177]

The songs are sung in a relaxed non-pulsating style, preferably with a clapstick accompaniment. Although cocoon rattles are known and have been used in the Yokuts area, they are no longer employed. The feeling is that the latter are supposed to be used by doctors and, since there are no doctors indigenous to the Tachi community, they are not used. The clapsticks are clapped with the syllabic or rhythmic beat of the song, except with one group of songs which required an almost independent accompaniment. The Handgame Song #3, the Tulare Lake Song, and the Deer Songs were included in this group. It should be indicated, however, that the Deer Song represents something very unusual melodically and rhythmically in this area. The formlessness of the melody and the indecisiveness of they rhythm place this song in a separate category. 533 534 [156]

Helen Roberts (1936) mentions that the clapstick accompaniment of the Yokuts was completely independent of the rhythm of the songs. With the exception of the three examples mentioned above this is not now the case in the Tachi area. The accompaniment corresponded closely to the beat or to a subdivision of the beat. Thus, if the beat was 4/4, the accompaniment might be 4/4, 2/4, or 1/4. The end of a line is marked by a rapid vibration of the clapsticks which gives the effect of a compression. There is, however, no break in the rhythm of the lyrics. (By "line" is meant a complete phrase with as many reiterations as are sung before the transition to a new phrase.) 533

Tulare Lake Song(1) [539]

1. a wa ten may a wa ten may pa?a seo

2. ka woy may xo ka we may xo pa?a seo(2)

The repetition pattern for this song as sung here, is 1,1,1,2,2,1,1,2,2, etc.

Apparently the number of repetitions made depends upon the singer's disposition and the context of the song, while the order of phrases is fixed by convention. In Professor Kroeber's early transcriptions the bulk of the songs were a few to several syllables longer than the 1940 and 1957 recordings. While the earlier songs sometimes contained up to eight or ten phrases totaling as many as eighty syllables, there was not a single long song found in the latter recordings. The Rattlesnake Ceremony Songs from the adjacent Yaudanchi area were particularly long (Kroeber 1907: 363-75). 533

A correlate of the shortness of the songs is their highly allusive character. The personal power song of Dawis Sapagay is given in text. This song refers to a rather elaborate story of how Sapagay was given the power to heal sickness. Sapagay was a very well-known doctor throughout the Tachi area. 538

Dawis Sapagay's Song [539]

palawa na he palawa na he	"Where will I go in?"
he yeo okonew palawa na he	"I will go in (at the place)
yo ke wey na yo ke wa ke wa	where green scum is on the pool."

The story is as follows:

Looking for a doctor who could teach him curing power, Sapagay went to the edge of Wood Lake to find the underwater entrance to the place where the doctor lived. He dove in (at the place where the green scum is), and came up in a cave in which he met the guardians of the doctor. There was a man-sized spider with voracious jaws, and, afterwards, a rattlesnake coiled ready to strike. Last, there was a puma and a bear who tore men to pieces. Sapagay used a kingsnake charm against the spider and the rattlesnake (kingsnakes eat spiders and rattlesnakes), while against the puma and the bear he used a weasel charm which made him small and agile. He thus passed them by. 539 756 [789] [825]

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At length he came to the end of the cave. It was a new and strange land which he had not seen before. After looking around, he came upon the doctor sitting steadfast as a stone and looking straight before him. After a time the doctor looked up and asked Sapagay, "What are you doing here? How did you get in? You must have some sort of power to get past my guardians." Sapagay told him of the charms he had used and the doctor approved of them. They were the right charms for the man who wanted doctor power.

Sapagay looked about and saw that there was no one around. He said, "This must be a very lonely place; there are no other people here." The doctor replied, "You don't seem to like it here; why did you come?" And he continued, "I will show you the people who live here." So he called, and a long line of deer came out of the black mountain to the west. Sapagay thought to himself, "These aren't real people, but just deer from the woods." But the deer came and formed a circle about him and lost their horns and hooves, and turned into beautiful girls dressed in string aprons, beads, and clamshell ornaments. The doctor then addressed the girls, "Now give him your songs that he may have doctor power among his people." And the girls taught Sapagay their songs so that he could use their secret power.

When Sapagay learned all that he could, he asked the doctor how he could get back to his people. The doctor told him that the guardians would be asleep when he returned through the tunnel. And then Sapagay returned to his people and became a famous doctor who was called to all parts of California to cure the sick. (3)

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YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO MYTHS

BY
A. H. GAYTON AND STANLEY S. NEWMAN

PART I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

128 Since it was not practicable for Newman to present his text myths in full translation at this time we have selected one as representative of the native Yokuts story form. This appears below in
171 complete translation. It is slightly longer than
538 the usual Yokuts tale and has two elements common

[Text continued top of page 1-B.-Analyst]

TYPE MYTH

Condor Steals Falcon's Wife

539 There they were living above Xolmiu (Clover Place) at the foot of this mountain. Their leaders are thinking about their meeting. And Eagle said, "Tell Cougar and Big Eagle and his friend, the large Crow, and their crier, Dove, and Coyote and Falcon and Wolf." And Coyote was sent. Now he is going to assemble the people. "In seven days we will assemble." Now they will be told--Wind and Thunder and Dog too. And Coyote informed them. And Wind said, "Of course I can go anywhere. But tell Thunder. Will he go?" And, "I'm not sure that he can," he added.

And the seven days came. And already all the people were assembling there. And Thunder did not come. The booming noise he makes is useless; he can't walk. And Coyote went to him. And he questioned him. And Thunder said, "I can't go anywhere. Tell my friend and he will come." And Wind went to him. And there he arrived. And he said to him, "What's the matter with you! Aren't you able to walk? Haven't I been telling you, I'll see to it that you will go where they want you? Are you ready to leave now?" he says to him. "Stand up now, and you will speak," he says to him. "Ready?" Wind says to him. "Yes," then says Thunder. "Speak now," he says to him. "Will we go now?" And Thunder spoke. Just as soon as he spoke, the two of them walked off.

And they arrived there immediately. And their leader, Eagle, said to him, "Have you arrived already?" he says to him. And he said to him, "This gathering of ours is certainly a small one. How is that?" Thunder says. "These are important people. I am thinking about our going west," says Eagle. "All the seeds are now getting ripe again." "Good," they say. "But who will go to look them over?" they say. "Antelope," they say. And Antelope said, "In the morning I will go." And he went. And there he arrived. To his surprise, there were a great many seeds. And he took a great many; he placed them in both his feet. And he arrived after sundown.

[Text continued bottom of page 1-B.-Analyst]

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO MYTHS [p. 1-B]

BY

A. H. GAYTON AND STANLEY S. NEWMAN

PART I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

171 in Great Basin-Plateau mythology: the rock cover-
538 ing of Condor and the rolling skull; otherwise it is a typical example of South Central Californian narrative progression, conversation, action, and
[128] incident.[2] The rest of Newman's myths, abstracted, appear under Abstracts and Comparative Notes.

TYPE MYTH

● 539 And, as before, Coyote assembled the people. And all the people assembled. A large covering was already spread over the ground. On it he is now going to pour his load. And he poured it. And they said, "There is certainly a lot." And, "Count these important people," they say to Dove. Now they are going to divide it. And each of them took his share. And the unimportant ones took what was left. And all of them were pleased. Having taken their food, all of them will now prepare it. And Falcon's friend, Crow, ate a lot of black seeds. And he turned black. "Well," says their leader, "in seven days we will go."

Now they are going to gather food. And the seven days arrived. And some of them asked their leader, "In how many days will we return?" "In three days." And they said, "There is food enough for our children."

And all the people went. And there they arrived. And they got many seeds. And in three days they returned.

And Falcon probably got a great many. And he said to his wife, "I'll take some of this, and I'll come right back." And his wife was working; she was getting more. And the woman heard him coming. She looks about, but she does not see anything. And Condor alighted close to her. And after alighting he said to her, "Are you the wife of my younger brother?" he says to her. "Is he your younger brother?" she says to him. "Yes," he says. "His name is Tsopnix." And the woman said to him, "What is your name?" she says. "Condor," he says. "So we will go now," Condor says to her. He says to her, "Take off your necklace." Her necklace was money--small beads and big dark beads and small bone beads. And she said, "No," but it was useless. "Why should I?" she says to him. "I'm afraid he'll be angry," she says to him. "No," she says. "We will go now." He took her away by force.

And then Falcon arrived after they had gone. And he couldn't find his wife. And in vain he

[126] [2]Recorded in Yauelmani dialect by Newman.

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●539 looked for their footprints. He found nothing. And from there he returned. And he arrived at the leader's house. And the leader said to him, "Why are you alone?" "I can't find her," he says. And the leader said, "I think she has been stolen from you. Now we'll assemble the people," the leader says to him. And he sent Dove. "Assemble the people," he says. And Dove got all the people. "Falcon's wife has been stolen," he says. "Now Eagle will ask the people," he says. "Who's going to find her?" he says.

And all the people assembled. And he asked all of them, "Who can find out where she went?" And Buzzard said, "I'll try. But he must take me where she was stolen," Buzzard said. And there Falcon took him where she was stolen. And there they arrived. "For one day I will search for her," he says. And Buzzard searched all the ravines. He looks down all the impassable places. He comes down. Where is she hidden? And in vain he goes up again. He finds nothing.

He did not find anything. He worked for one day. And he returned. And, as before, all the people assembled. And they asked him, "What happened on your journey?" "I didn't find anything," he says. "I walked over the whole world, but it was useless," he says. "I didn't find anything."

And the leader said, "Now you," he says to Wind. "Yes," says Wind. "I think I can do something. I try to get in everywhere over the whole world," says Wind. And there Falcon took him. And they arrived there. "Is this it?" says Wind to him. "Yes," says Falcon. "Well, I'll walk now," he says. "I will arrive there after sundown," he says. And Falcon says to him, "Well, I am going now," he says. And Wind walked over the whole world. He did not find anything. He worked for one day. And he arrived late at the leader's house. And the leader asked him, "What happened on your journey?" he says to him. "I didn't find anything," he says.

"Now you," Bottlefly is told. And there Falcon took him. And they arrived there. "Did she go from here?" he says to him. And he stood right there where the woman had been sitting. And he said to Falcon, "You must not go anywhere. You must wait for me right here," he says to him. And Bottlefly says, "From here I'll find out where she went. I'll turn around here," he says. "East," and also, "North," he says, and also, "West," and also, "South." And Falcon said, "Where is she?" he says. "Not there," Bottlefly says. "She went far up," he says. "You must wait for me right here," he says.

And there he went far up. And there he remained. He sniffs in all directions. And he turned around. And he saw a house. It was the house of the thief. And there Bottlefly went. And on entering his house, he slipped. He falls on his back. His house was slippery. And it was quiet there. And he saw the woman. And from there he returned. He seemed to be very

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●539 quick. He came there where Falcon remained. And he reached Falcon. And Falcon said to him, "Where?" And he said to him, "She is up there." "I have known it for a long time. I have been thinking," says Falcon. "It is best that we return, and I will go in the morning."

And they returned. And they arrived at the leader's house. And the people assembled. Now they will listen to the one who found her. And all the people assembled. And the leader questioned Bottlefly. "The two of us arrived there where she was stolen," he says. "We arrived there," he says. "And I couldn't find her east or north or west or south," he says. "Well! She went above," he says. "And there I arrived far up," he says. "There she was," he says, "that woman." And Coyote said, "I have known it for a long time," he says. And he named him. "That is his name," he says. "Condor," he says. "All of his body is stone, but his heart can be seen through his back," he says. And Eagle said to him, "Is he certain to fight us if he comes?" he says. And then he said, "Sparrow Hawk is Falcon's younger brother. Yayil is his name." And Falcon said, "In the morning I will get her," he says.

And in the morning Falcon went. He took his musical bow. And far off there he arrived. And there he placed it where his wife had been. And there he sat on his musical bow. And he went up. That musical bow of his took him up.

And far above he came out through a hole in the world. And after coming out he stood there. And there he saw the house. And there he went. And there he arrived at the door. And he said to her, "Come out." And she said to him, "Who are you?" And Falcon said to her, "It is I." "So it is you," she says to him. "Now I will come out," she says to him. And she came out with a string of human bones around her neck. And Falcon said to her, "Take off your necklace. Now we will go," he says to her. And from there they went to the place where he had come out. And they arrived there. And there he placed his musical bow. They sat in the middle of it. And from there they descended far below. And from there they went to their house where their leader was. There they arrived. At their arrival, the people are happy.

And then Condor, the fighter, arrived at his house. And there he saw their wife's necklace; she had thrown it on the door. And at that he immediately got ready to go. Now he is going to follow his wife. And he descended far below. And from there he went. Now he will go toward them. And far off there he arrived. And he asked them, "Where does Tsopnix live?" he says. And Falcon was told, "Condor is looking for you." "Has he come already?" he says. "Yes," says the speaker. And there went Falcon.

All the people are getting very frightened. "Hello," Tsopnix says to him. "It is really you." "Hello," says Condor. "So you took our wife," he says. "Therefore," Condor says to him,

● 539 "therefore, we will settle it between ourselves. If you kill me, then you will take our wife. But if I kill you, then I will take her," he says. "Which one will shoot first?" he says. "I will be first," says Falcon.

And they went far off to an open plain. "Ready?" Falcon says to him. And it seems that he conjured up a fog. And "Ready?" says his opponent. And many stones fell where Falcon was standing. And Condor asked him, "Where are you?" his opponent says to him. "I'll take my turn with you. Now I come," Falcon says to him. And he conjured up a fog again. Soon his younger brother will go in a circle around him. He has many wire-grass [cane] arrows now. He is shooting at the heart through Condor's back. There this heart of his could be seen. "Well, get ready now," Falcon says to him. "Now I will shoot at you. Three times I will shoot at you," he says to him. "Ready," he says to him. "Get ready now. Now I will shoot at you." And he shot at him. Many stones dropped from his body when he shot. And he shot at him again. And, as before, stones dropped there. And "Where are you?" Falcon says to him. "Here I am," he says.

"Now I will take my turn with you. I come next," Condor says to him. "Good," says Falcon. "Ready?" he says to him. "Ready," then says Falcon. His younger brother still keeps shooting at him through his back. And he conjured up a fog again. And many stones dropped where he was standing. And again he went far off to a different place. And he says to him, "Where are you?" "I am standing here," says Falcon.

"And now I will take my turn with you. I will come next again," Falcon says to him. Already Condor is losing strength. Now he is going to shoot at him again. And a lot of stones fell; they seemed to be very large ones. "Again," Falcon says to him. And he shot at him again. "There is one more," he says to him. "Now I'll shoot at you again," he says to him. But he [Condor] is already losing strength. And, "Again," he says to him. And finally he fell down. Yet he does not stop talking. And then they rested. Now he does not get up. Now he has fallen.

And "What are we going to do with him?" says Coyote. "We will burn him," say all these people. And all of the people gathered wood. They piled it there where he had fallen. And it was set on fire. And the fire died out. Nothing was burning. "Hello," says Falcon to him. "Hello," then says Condor. "So! You are still alive," Falcon says to him. "There is nothing you can kill me with," he says to him. And an-

539 other kind of wood was gathered. And, as before, it was again piled there where he is lying. And, as before, it was set on fire. It was not burning any longer. "Hello," Falcon says to him. "It is really you. Hello," he says to him. "I am well," he says. "So! You will not die," Falcon says to him.

And Coyote was asked, "What will we burn him with? He does not burn up," they say. And, "With grass," Coyote says. "With that he will burn," he says. And a lot of grass was brought. Now he will be burned with it. And it was set on fire. And all of his body was burning. But his head still talks. "We have probably killed him now. Leave him right there," he says.

And they stayed over night. And during the night the head, by itself, went away. His body was not there. And Falcon got the head and took it away. And the head got angry at being taken. Now the head will try many times to harm him. And again Falcon takes it in his hands. Now he is going to keep smashing it down on these stones. And again it kept trying to harm him.

And finally Falcon said, "We had better go to my father's sister." And Falcon and his wife went off. Now they are going to run away. And the two of them went. And now the head came again. It was trailing them now. And again it overtook them. Again it failed to do any harm to Falcon. And, as before, Falcon took it and kept smashing it down. He broke it in many pieces. And again the two of them went off. And again he overtook them as they were nearing his father's sister's house. And, as before, he again kept smashing it down. And with that the two of them went off again. And his father's sister shouted, "Run," she says to him. "You are coming close now," she says to him. They were getting very near. And now the head was approaching them again. And already it was overtaking them. Just as it approached, the rock closed shut. Just as it closed, the head arrived there. There the head broke. There it became Echo Rock.

And then Eagle was asked, "Where will you go?" he is asked. "Here in the mountain I am going to roam," he says then. And Cougar also was asked, "Where will you go?" he is asked. "Here in the mountain I am going to roam," he says. "I'll kill many deer," he says. Falcon also says, "I too will walk here in the mountain," he says. And Coyote was also asked, "Where will you go?" he is asked. "Here I will walk on the plains. Maybe I will steal something there," he says. And Crow also was asked. "I'll walk west," he says. "Maybe something will die. And I will eat its eyes," says Crow. That is the end.